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Glimpses of Quaid-i-Azam

By

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PREFACE

IN the chapter entitled 'Some Reminiscences' I have explained why I, a humble individual, have ventured to touch on the life of one whom the Muslims of the sub-continent will for all time acclaim as their saviour and greatest hero and whom the world shall always acknowledge as a figure of immortal greatness. The point need not be further dilated on.

The importance and value of keeping alive the memory of national heroes to the progress and advancement of a nation is patent. The case of Pakistan is of unique significance. The creation of Pakistan, its stabilisation, the ideals it stands for are so closely linked up with the life, character and achievements of the Quaid-i-Azam that the study of his life will be of perennial and indispensable importance to the people of Pakistan. It is the duty of those who had the good fortune of working with or for him to record the impressions they formed of the great leader from different angles. This will enable our younger generation to familiarise themselves with the personality of the Father of the Nation and the ideals he stood for and also prevent the spread of erroneous impressions about him. It will further facilitate the task of the future historian in making a proper and just assessment of the illustrious and decisive role played by the Quaid-i-Azam in the march of human history.

It is rarely given even to great men to witness the attainment of the objective they place before themselves and their people, but the Quaid-i-Azam was one who saw his dream come true in his own life-time. There is hardly any instance in the annals of freedom movements of a leader raising a dispirited and demoralised people, without a shot being fired, to the status of independent nationhood in the space of a decade.

The establishment of Pakistan in the teeth of fierce and relentless opposition was a triumph of the combination of a matchless leadership and a devoted following ready to undergo all suffering and sacrifice. The Quaid-i-Azam had limitless faith in his people, and he left Pakistan as a priceless legacy to be built up into a progressive and prosperous state animated by the dynamic force of Islamic ideology which would be a source of solace and light for a world bleeding from the clash of the forces of blind materialism. His greatest weapons were his own impeccable character, indomitable courage and the wisdom born of true religious faith. In his case it may be said that his character was his destiny. His life teaches us the great lesson that if we adhere to truth and justice we are bound to emerge successful from any crisis, no matter what dangers and calamities beset our path. This little book gives some illustrations of this great lesson from the life of the Quaid-i-Azam.

For a free and virile nation there can be no question of resting on laurels already won. Let the people of Pakistan continue with unabated zeal and sincerity to conduct themselves in accordance with the principles the Quaid-i-Azam inculcated and the ideals he placed before them,so that his soul, watching Pakistan from its celestial abode, may feel happy in the knowledge that his mission is being fulfilled.

Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad



SOME REMINISCENCES

Does it lie with an insignificant individual to reminisce about the personality of a man who ranks among the greatest figures of history ? In the case of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah it does. For, he set a standard of character and moral conduct which is different from the one which, in popular view, usually goes to constitute greatness. He battled against the proud and the haughty, against those who sought to tyrannise over the weak and the oppressed and he humbled their pride. But to the common man who sought light and guidance, to the silent un-assuming workers he was the soul of courtesy and kindness. In him they found an unfailing source of consolation and encouragement in the darkest hours of peril and adversity. Many humble individuals who never made politics a profession or a lever for personal advancement burnt their boats and threw themselves headlong into the Muslim national struggle of the pre-independence days, regardless of the consequences. In so doing they were attracted mainly by the compelling charm of the Quaid-e-Azam's personality. Such workers had ready access to him without the aid of any intermediary. They always found that his courtesy was no assumed courtesy; his attitude had no condescending or patronising air about it. He hated sham in every shape and form. An unpretentious man found himself elevated in the Quaid-e-Azam's presence, the sign of true greatness! When the horizon was dark and everything seemed to be going wrong, the Quaid-e-Azam with his spirit undaunted and his vision unclouded would cheer you up with his ineffable smile and a few encouraging words. You would feel rather ashamed of having allowed the feeling of despair to enter your heart for a single moment and your faith in the justice of your cause and your ability to face up

to any crisis would be as bright as ever. Your best reward, better than any advantage of position, pelf or power, was the Quaid-e-Azam's smile of approval of your silent labours in the cause of the nation.

When such are the ties binding the leader to his people, is it any wonder that an obscure individual who had the privilege of receiving inspiration, guidance and support from the leader should venture to give a few reminiscences and glimpses of the glory that shall, Insha Allah, always live.

Even in my boyhood I had heard a great deal about him. In those days he was *persona grata* of the entire Indian intelligentsia. The impression that I gathered about him from hearsay was that he was a handsome, elegant, well-dressed gentleman, an able advocate and an eloquent speaker, a true nationalist working for a genuine Hindu-Muslim understanding, and, above all, a man of upright and independent character who could stand up to any Englishman and deal with him on equal footing—a great thing in those days ! Here I would relate an anecdote which illustrates his courage of conviction and strength of character. I heard it from an uncle of mine who attended the Nagpur Session of the Congress where this incident took place. Mr. Gandhi's programme of so-called non-violent non-cooperation was under discussion before a vast concourse of delegates and visitors. Passions ran high and the atmosphere was tense. The whole assembly seemed to be in favour of the programme. Suddenly the people saw a tall, thin man coming forward to oppose the resolution. The very fact of a single individual standing up to oppose a motion favoured by thousands was an example of rare daring. He went on speaking with cold logic and cogent reasoning till he happened to refer to Mr. Gandhi. Intolerance had by this time gripped the Congress, following Mr. Gandhi's entry into it, and so the audience shouted, 'No. Mahatma Gandhi'. Mr. Jinnah went on repeating 'Mr. Gandhi'. It

was a matter of conviction with him. There was pandemonium for sometime, but the multitude had to yield in the end. That was Mr. Jinnah. No power on earth could make him change his conviction. Col. Wedgwood, one of the members of the fraternal delegation of the British Labour Party attending the session, was astounded and was heard to remark that if India had a few more men of Mr. Jinnah's strength of character she would be free ere long! Mr. Jinnah honestly believed that Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-cooperation would end in miserable failure and disaster as it eventually did, and so he left the Congress which he had sincerely served for about fifteen years and to whose funds he had regularly contributed Rs. 1,000 a month for a number of years. He was not the type of leader who swims with the current. If need be he would battle against the current and divert it in his own direction, as later events showed that he turned the course of Indian history.

I would now mention some scenes and events of personal observation which throw light on the manifold aspects of his masterful personality. As I have stated, Mr. Jinnah was always a hot favourite with the intelligentsia, particularly the Aligarh youth. The first glimpse I had of Mr. Jinnah was on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Aligarh Muslim University in 1925. He was invited to act as a judge in the All-India Inter-University Competitive Debate held under the auspices of the University Union on the occasion of the Jubilee. Craning my neck forward from the gallery of the Rampur Hamid Hall like hundreds of other eager youths, I caught sight of the man who was destined to be the Saviour of Muslim India. Tall, handsome, and spruce, he captured the hearts of the keen, boisterous youth of Aligarh by his well-groomed, fascinating figure, his winsome mien, his deep resonant voice and his genial *bon homie*. He was drawing closer to Aligarh, for he had realised from experience of the Congress and Hindu leaders that there was no hope

for Hindu-Muslim settlement and for Indian freedom unless the Muslims became an organized force.

There was a gap of five years. It was the time of Lord Irwin (later Lord Halifax). He had made an announcement declaring dominion status to be the goal of British policy in India and proposing a Round Table Conference of British and Indian delegates to formulate proposals for constitutional advance which would be laid before parliament for its approval. This announcement had led to a keen controversy in Indian political circles. One school of thought represented by Mr. Jinnah, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others favoured acceptance of the offer of Round Table Conference; the Congress stood for outright rejection, though, as was always their wont, they participated in the Conference a year later. The University Union at Aligarh being a live, progressive body had a practice of debating the burning topics of the day and inviting leading public figures to take part in these debates. A full-dress debate on the advisability or otherwise of acceptance of the Round Table Conference proposal was arranged. Mr. Jinnah was especially invited to speak on the occasion. It was a cold night of January 1930, when an eager, expectant crowd of students and members of the staff gathered in the Rampur Hamid Hall to listen to the momentous debate. Aligarh in those days had a unique position; its voice had a powerful effect on public opinion. In fact, it was an Englishman, Mr. E. A. Horne, then Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University, who remarked, "what Aligarh speaks today India will speak tomorrow". The debates in the Aligarh Union had an air of reality about them. Before the debate and in course of it the opinion of young 'Varsity men was strongly in favour of rejection of the offer. The extreme view always makes a powerful appeal to the youth. Impassioned and emotional speeches were made by many budding orators pouring forth vials of wrath on British imperialism and advocating rejection of the Round Table idea.

The atmosphere was surcharged with strong patriotic passions and those who knew the Aligarh audience of those days can understand what uncommon courage a speaker had to have to face such an audience and speak against the prevailing view. When the young hopefuls had exhausted their breath Mr. Jinnah took the floor on the un-popular side, namely acceptance of the offer. It is now more than thirty years since the debate took place, but I still have a distinct picture in my mind of Mr. Jinnah as he stood on the dais facing a highly critical audience bubbling with enthusiasm. Immaculately attired in evening dress, his smooth hair, half black and half grey, beautifully brushed back, his monocle shining brightly, one of his hands in the pocket of his trousers and the fingers of the other turning slightly to reinforce his arguments, he instantly gripped the attention of the youthful audience by his confident manner, graceful deportment, and deep cultivated voice with its rich timbre and measured intonation. Not a loose word escaped his lips. The train of his thought kept perfect pace with the flow of his expression. He spoke a language which, though simple, clear, crisp and precise, yet had a ring of grandeur at times, when he laid emphasis on a particular point of vantage and finished the argument with a dexterous flourish. His tone with its musical and resonant ring charmed and moved the audience to their depths. It seemed as if a speaker of the calibre of Lord Rosebery or Early Grey had come from the House of Lords to take part in the debate. Such ease, such grace, such command of the English idiom and accent and the English parliamentary style was an object of marvel to Englishman themselves. Some enthusiasts tried once or twice to heckle him but they found more than a match in him for he was a pastmaster in the art of repartee. They were silenced by his quick, brilliant retorts which, however, were free from any trace of acrimony. Besides the power-

ful appeal of his voice and manner, his reasoning was so cogent, his logic so relentless, his marshalling of facts and arguments so effective that the doubts, prejudices and predilections of the audience began to melt away one by one. They were convinced that when the British threw a challenge to Indian statesmanship it would not do to shrink from it. The only sensible course was to take the British at their word, make out a strong case for Indian self-Government, put forward agreed proposals and thus put the British on their trial before the bar of world opinion. By the time Mr. Jinnah had finished his characteristically forceful but eloquent speech a miracle had happened. When the vote was taken it was discovered that Mr. Jinnah had succeeded, by sheer dint of irresistible logic and sweet reasonableness, in converting the vast majority to his viewpoint. The House voted overwhelmingly in favour of the proposition accepting the Round Table Conference offer. It was a real personal triumph for Mr. Jinnah !

There was an interregnum of about five years, for Mr. Jinnah practically left India after the first Round Table Conference had been held in the winter of 1930 and decided to settle down in London where he started legal practice before the Privy Council. He had been led to make this serious decision by some very distressing circumstances. He had worked harder than any one else to bring about a genuine Hindu-Muslim *rapprochement*, but all his efforts came to naught. The extreme intransigence of Hindu leaders even in the foreign land completely dismayed him. All his powers of reasoning and persuasion had failed to produce the slightest change in the Hindu mentality. The Muslim leaders of that time, mostly careerists and self-seakers, would not listen to his advice. Frustrated and depressed, he made up his mind to settle in London and do what he could to help his country from there. The reason why he reversed this decision about five years later and returned post-haste to India

after the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1935 was disclosed by him in the course of a very revealing conversation. I had called on him to settle details of the programme of his visit to Aligarh. It was just a month before the historic Lahore Session of the Muslim League in 1940. I found Mr. Jinnah discussing Punjab League affairs with some gentlemen from the Punjab. As the conversation switched on to the general condition of Muslim India, Mr. Jinnah mentioned how he had to change his mind to leave England and return to India in 1935. He never lost touch with affairs in India and he was keenly watching the trend of events. Living in England while the 1935 Act was on the anvil in Parliament he, as an astute politician and shrewd judge of constitutional developments, realised better than any other Muslim leader that the introduction of the Provincial part of the Act, based as it was on the principle of numerical majority rule, would put the Muslims in a most perilous position; and if, later on, the Federal part too were enforced their fate would be sealed. Unless they bestirred themselves quickly they would be lost for ever. The more Mr. Jinnah thought of the impending calamity the greater was his distress and anguish. Meantime elections to the Central Assembly were coming off in the autumn of 1934. The Muslim leaders of Bombay were sending him frantic messages imploring him to come back and agree to his election from Bombay City—his old constituency—to the Assembly. Muslim leaders from other provinces were also pressing him to return and lead the Muslims in the critical times that lay ahead. Mr. Jinnah could not tarry longer. He responded to the call and gave his consent for election. He was elected unopposed to the Assembly and soon after returned to India to take up the task of organising the Muslims.

The period 1935-37 was, in certain respects, the worst that the Muslims of the sub-continent ever faced. It is not easy to describe it. I would refer it very briefly in order

to show the stupendous nature of the task Mr. Jinnah took upon himself and the dangers he braved in his old age. The British Government had decided to introduce provincial autonomy straightway, to be followed, at a later stage, by an All-India Federation after certain conditions had been complied with. Despite certain limitations, the Provincial part of the Act was going to confer a substantial measure of power on the Hindus in the majority of provinces. The Muslims could take no advantage of their majority in the Provinces because of their disorganization and dissensions and also because they suffered from the handicap of being reduced to minority in the legislatures of Bengal and the Punjab, though forming the majority of population of these provinces. The Hindus, through the Congress, were fully prepared to derive the maximum benefit from this dispensation. They kept up a show of opposing and wrecking the Act, but when the time came they gleefully plumped for the Ministries and worked the Act to their best advantage. Of course, they took care, by tactics of bluff and bluster, to circumvent the special powers of the Governor and the safeguards provided for the minorities. The organizational strength of the Congress, built up over a period of fifty years to which the Muslims at one time had made a magnificent contribution, was formidable. What with the backing of finance, press and propaganda machinery, the Congress swept the polls in Hindu constituencies and found some willing stooges among the Muslims ready to sell their honour for a mess of pottage. The plight of the Muslims on the other hand beggars description. They were prey to every conceivable disease that results from want of a national purpose, a clear-cut political ideology, policy and programme. Divided and demoralised, they were the No Man's land which any one could use as a happy hunting ground. To put it figuratively, they were like a ship, rudderless, captainless, and trackless, hurled from one

trough of misery and disaster to another. Their condition, briefly, may be summed up as one of political sycophancy. The British rulers thought the Muslims were in their pocket. There were title-hunters and jobseekers galore among the Muslims who kept the British assured on this score. The Congress, intoxicated with its organizational might and newly-won political power, looked down on Muslims with supreme disdain and felt that they could be managed through their Muslims stooges whose number was increasing and also by resort to the familiar tactics of Divide and Rule which they had learnt from their British masters.

It was at this hour of bleak despair and dark foreboding for the Muslims that Mr. Jinnah stood, as if inspired by Divine Power, and sounded a clarion call to the Muslims. The Bombay Session of the Muslim League held in 1936 charged Mr. Jinnah with the herculean task of organising the Muslims as a separate party to contest elections to the Provincial legislatures all over India. He accepted the responsibility though odds were against him. It was for the first time in their political history in the Sub-Continent that they were contesting elections as an organized party. He went from province to province, from remote Assam to the far-flung N. W. F. P., urging the Muslims to realise the danger they were faced with, to close up their ranks, to rally under one banner, to organize and fight the elections as one party with a single, uniform, All-India policy. But they were so demoralized and supine, their outlook had become so narrow, parochial and selfish that they could see no advantage in liquidating their local coteries and factions and presenting a united front on an All-India basis. Mr. Jinnah did not meet with encouragaing response except in the Muslim minority provinces where the League won 60 to 70% of the seats contested. The majority provinces, particularly, gave him the cold shoulder. The Bengalis were under the spell of the Krishak Proja; the Punjabis were beguiled

by the Unionist fraud; the Pathans of the Frontier bamboozled by the Congress ruse. The affronts and rebuffs offered to Mr. Jinnah by the Muslim stooges of the British and the Congress were enough to damp the enthusiasm and break the spirit of the stoutest man. But Mr. Jinnah was made of different mettle. He persisted with super-human strength of will and determination. After the Congress had captured power in the provinces by entering into an unholy alliance with the representatives of British Imperialism, called the Gentlemen's Agreement, the stormy-petrel of the Congress, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, roared, "There are only two parties in the country— the Congress and the British Government. Others must line up." Mr. Jinnah calmly replied that there was a third party— the Muslim League. He was as good as his word; within two years he proved that the League was a force to be reckoned with :

During the elections of 1937 the Congress did not oppose Muslim League candidates, for they were not quite sure of capturing as large a majority as they eventually did, and they thought they would need the League's support. Also, on the general matters affecting the welfare of the people, the programme of the two parties had much in common. But when the Congress had won a surprisingly large majority of seats they lost their balance of mind. The League became anathema to them. The very existence of minorities and any such thing as Muslim culture was denied. The Congress developed totalitarian tendencies. A virulent campaign was launched to establish the dictatorship of the Congress caucus over the entire sub-continent.

As last the Muslims awoke. The prospect of being reduced to serfdom under a people whom they had ruled for well-nigh eight hundred years stared the Muslims in the face. Their sense of pride was hurt which is the first sure sign of regeneration of a people. This national resurgence found its expression in the Lucknow Session of the Muslim League

held in October, 1937 which marked the beginning of the revolutionary phase of the League as a live, fighting, mass organization of the Mussalmans of India. I would relate a few incidents in this connection to show how Mr. Jinnah who had so far been a parliamentarian and a leader of the intelligentsia adapted himself to the changed situation and took charge of the mass leadership of the Mussalmans with amazing confidence and skill. Mr. Jinnah was on his way from Bombay to Lucknow to preside over the Session of the Muslim League. As the train steamed into the Railway Station at Cawnpore a vast crowd of Muslims mobbed his compartment. They voiced their resolve to fight and die at a signal from Mr. Jinnah. So exuberant was their enthusiasm and so fiery their determination to resist Hindu aggression that Mr. Jinnah, otherwise calm and impreturbable, was visibly moved. It was impossible for me to push my way through the surging crowd. Standing precariously on a railing on the platform, I saw Mr. Jinnah looking out of the window and waving to the crowd to listen to him. There was instant silence. His face wore a look of grim determination coupled with satisfaction that his people were aroused at last. He spoke a few soothing words to pacify their inflamed passions. Many Muslims, overcome by emotion, wept tears of joy to see their leader who, they felt sure, would deliver them from bondage.

The next day I was in Lucknow to listen to Mr. Jinnah's soul-stirring presidential speech at that truly historic session, for history was made at Lucknow! This was the first time I saw Mr. Jinnah in national costume. His elegant sartorial taste was reflected in these clothes also. He appeared in a light brown Sherwani and white 'Aurebi' Lucknow Pyjama with a black astrakhan cap beautifully tilted on one side of his head. The address he delivered on the occasion will go down in history as a masterpiece of oratory. For searching analysis, incisive criticism, irrefutable logic, forensic elo-

quence, and robust tone of self-confidence, courage and optimism the speech stood without a rival. He tore to shreds the Congress pretensions of nationalism and of being representative of all India, he pricked the bubble of Congress professions of love of democracy and freedom and ruthlessly exposed the fallacy of their arguments and the inconsistency between their professions and practices. His moving appeal to the Mussalmans to steer clear of Congress machinations and shibboleths, to shed all inferiority complex and to recapture their souls worked like magic.

We see Mr. Jinnah next in February, 1938 on the occasion of his visit to Aligarh after the commencement of the new phase of his leadership. He had by this time got used to processions and meetings consisting of thousands and even lakhs of people. It seemed as if he had a rich reserve of latent qualities and energies which were coming into play at the right moment. He showed amazing grasp of the mass mind and impulse as well as shrewd insight into political moves and diplomatic manoeuvres. Somehow he always knew, as if by intuition, the psychological moments in the political life of the country. His patience was inexhaustible and he could wait for the right moment. But when the time came he struck and struck hard with unerring agility and precision. A lesser man in his position would surely have been swept off his feet by mighty demonstration of support and admiration from the followers. Not so Mr. Jinnah. His eyes were constantly fixed on the goal he had set for his people. He could look ahead and beyond the immediate welter of events. Neither the malicious hostility of the opponents nor the fulsome adulation of the followers could deflect him from the path of rectitude and wisdom. He astonished his most ardent supporters by the facility and firmness with which he fitted himself into the role of mass leadership. The greater the opposition to his policy the stronger he grew. It was at

this time that a grateful people whom he had shown the path of honour and safety offered him the magnificent title of "Quaid-e-Azam" which soon became a by-word in every Muslim home. If I remember aright it was the late Maulana Mazhar-ud-Din, Editor of Al-Aman Delhi, who, interpreting the Muslim mind, suggested this title for Mr. Jinnah.

Responding to the call of students for whom he always had a very soft corner, Mr. Jinnah visited Aligarh in February, 1938. He was accorded a right royal reception at the station and taken out in a magnificent procession such as Aligarh had never witnessed. The remarkable feature of the procession was that his carriage was pulled by the students themselves over a route of three miles. That night was a gala night at Aligarh, for Mr. Jinnah was to speak on the position of Muslim India *vis-a-vis* the political situation of the country. He was always in his best form when speaking at Aligarh, for here he found the cream of Muslim intelligentsia who could best appreciate his observations. The speech delivered on this occasion was a superb example of mellowed eloquence. It was remarkable for its note of personal intimacy and intensity of feeling for the plight of his people. He spoke as if he were addressing a family gathering which showed how deep and sincere was his solicitude for Aligarh. His speech was punctuated by frequent outbursts of applause which at times were so vociferous that it seemed as if the roof of the famous Strachey Hall where he was speaking would be blown off. He concluded his speech with a beautiful peroration which ran as follows:—

> " Today Primary Leagues have been established almost in every District, in every town, and every village. They are gathering the precious stones, rubies, sapphires and diamonds, the scattered energies and talents of the Muslim community; and when you have got an

artistic jeweller to set them it will be a jewel which you will be proud of".

Needless to say, the Muslims found that artistic jeweller in no other person than Mr. Jinnah himself!

The first real mass gathering, in journalistic terminology, 'mammoth gathering', that I saw Mr. Jinnah address was the Patna session of the All-India Muslim League in December, 1938. In the beautifully decorated pandal built by Syed Abdul Aziz, the Bihar leader, Mr. Jinnah spoke extempore for about two hours. The steamroller of Congress tyranny and persecution had been grinding the Muslims since the advent of Congress Ministries, particularly in the Province of Bihar, and Muslim passions naturally had risen high. No one felt more for the oppressed Muslims than their leader, Mr. Jinnah. It was against this emotional background that he was speaking at Patna. His speech illustrated a wonderful quality of his mind—namely, in the state of heightened emotion he never for a moment lost his grip over reason and right perception. Not that he was incapable of emotional reactions. But he could keep perfect control over his sentiments and could always sub-ordinate his instincts and feelings to the higher cause and the nobler principle. Nothing would betray him into uttering a loose word or an indiscreet remark. He told the Muslims that they had not yet got to the fringe of acquiring that essential quality—moral, cultural and political self-consciousness—which the Hindus always had and which was the force behind them. When the Muslims too had developed a national self and national individuality they would realise what they wanted. Wise and prophetic words these! Just two years later they knew that they were a nation and what they wanted was their homeland and state!

It is doubtful whether any other politician in old age displayed such powers of original and revolutionary thinking

as Mr. Jinnah did. He propounded two original propositions which stirred the waters of Indian politics as nothing had ever done before and which revolutionised the entire course of Indian politics in the future. Firstly, the democratic parliamentary system of government as was in vogue in Western countries was unsuited to India; secondly, India was not a nation but a conglomeration of nations, big and small, of whom Muslims were one of the major nations. One of the earliest occasions when he made this declaration was a party given in his honour by the teaching staff of the Aligarh Muslim University on the beautifully-trimmed lawns of the swimming pool of the University in March 1939. Referring to a statement made in the address presented by the staff to the effect that the Muslim League was the off-spring of the Aligarh Movement and Aligarh men were among the pioneers of Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah humorously remarked that a poor relation, as soon as he gets rich, is owned and welcomed by the wealthy relations. He was hinting at the lack of enthusiastic response from Aligarh, particularly the older generation, during the early phase of the Muslim League's struggle. Of course, he paid a tribute to Aligarh men for the magnificent part they had played in the social, cultural and educational advancement of Muslim India. He also emphatically declared that the Muslims of India were a nation and no constitutional arrangement would work unless it recognized this basic fact.

Mr. Jinnah always had his hand on the pulse of his people and could feel the vibrations of their hearts. He knew how to express the stirrings of their minds in the form of concrete propositions. Having found that his people had regained their national and cultural self-consciousness he boldly enunciated their national goal as independent sovereign state in the regions of Muslim majority. This was done at Lahore in March, 1940. Perhaps never before had an Indian leader to face such a perilous situation and never were

qualities of leadership put to a more severe test. A day or two before the commencement of the session a shooting tragedy had taken place in which a considerable number of Khaksars had been killed. Consternation prevailed in Lahore and the leaders of the Unionist Party who were only nominally Muslim Leaguers were keen to have the session postponed. But Mr. Jinnah's faith in his people was unflagging and it was proved true. All fears of disturbance at the session were belied and the proceedings were gone through without the slightest hitch. The Khaksar situation was handled by Mr. Jinnah with supreme tact and adroitness. I distinctly remember that the situation was debated in the Subjects Committee till late into the night in an atmosphere of outraged passions. Mr. Jinnah alone could keep the passions in check. The late Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan had to face a withering fire of criticism and was saved from outright condemnation only by Mr. Jinnah's intervention. Eventually a balanced resolution was drafted, but no one had the courage to assume the responsibility of moving it in the open session the next day. Mr. Jinnah rose to the occasion. It demonstrated the unique trust that the people reposed in his integrity and sense of judgement. He explained to the vast gathering the delicate nature of the resolution and the reason why no discussion on it should take place in the open session and asked for their permission to move it from the chair. The gathering, having willingly signified its consent to the unusual procedure, he moved the resolution from the chair explaining its terms in a closely-reasoned speech with the result that the resolution was unanimously adopted amid acclamation—a happy finale to an explosive situation which, but for his tact and patience, would have led to greater complications and disaster !

After the Lucknow meeting the conference at Lahore was the second historic gathering—in fact more significant and far-reaching in its consequences. His speech on this occasion,

particularly the portion dealing with the constitutional problem of India, and the Muslim claim to separate nationhood and statehood, was a remarkable example of brilliant thinking and racy expression. I can recall him today standing on the raised platform inside the huge oval pandal on the grounds of Minto Park speaking in prophetic tones like a man of destiny. After he had finished explaining how the maintenance of the myth of Indian unity would spell disaster and why separate Hindu and Muslim States should be established every one in the vast gathering felt like Ghalib:

دیکھنا تقریب کی لذت کہ جو اسنے کہا
مینے یہ جانا کہ گویا یہ بھی میرے دل میں ہے

I often had the good fortune and privilege of having interviews with the Quaid-e-Azam. It is difficult and sometimes impossible to seek interview with lesser men, but never so with him. I retain the sweetest memories of these exhilarating meetings with him—they will ever remain a priceless asset. I happened to call on him at his Delhi house one afternoon in the month of February, 1941. I was ushered into the small ante-room adjoining the vestibule where he often received visitors. I did not have to wait, for the next moment I heard Mr. Jinnah's voice reverberating in the hall. How graciously he greeted me! How warm was his hand-shake! As soon as we had sat down to talk he called for tea and insisted on my having more than one cup. As we talked he asked me about the doubts and objections which young men still entertained regarding the Lahore resolution. I enumerated them. He listened and then sent for his beautiful leather-bound note-book wherein he recorded those questions, remarking that he would like to deal with them during his forthcoming visits to Aligarh and Lahore. For full forty minutes he discussed those questions throwing a flood of light and I heard spell-bound. It was at such meetings that one discovered another aspect of his greatness—as a conversationalist. He started slowly at

first. You were at once bewitched by the musical ring of his cultured voice, the beauty of his intonation, and the easy flow of his expression. Words fell from his lips like beautifully-formed pearls and rubies and one found it difficult to gather them all in one's lap. As he got into the stride you were moved by the intensity of his intellectual passion; the emotional fervour was not much in evidence as he always kept his emotions in check. While hearing the Quaid-e-Azam one could realize what it was to be 'possessed' of a great 'Idea'. Every fibre of his being seemed to vibrate with the 'Pakistan idea'. His passion was infectious. Whether you agreed with him or not you could not escape this infection. If you agreed you were filled with the zeal to contribute your mite towards its realization; if you did not, you were haunted by it.

Impelled by human frailty, I some times invited his attention to what appeared to me to be a rather disquieting development in the League organization. When the League had grown into a powerful body after the exit of Congress Ministries and the passage of the Lahore Resolution many persons who had sat on the fence or had scoffed and resorted to all manner of intrigues and machinations against the League strove to manoeuvre themselves into positions of authority in the League. I like many others who never had any lure for office genuinely feared that this might sabotage the carefully-built solidarity of the organization. But Quaid-e-Azam's vision transcended all such fears; his magnanimity was unbounded. He observed that selfless workers should not bother about such ephemeral developments; they should concentrate on solid constructive work. The League was a national organization; its object was to bring in every single Mussalman within its fold. If some work, some support was forthcoming by conceding an office here or a seat there to self-seekers, where was the harm. The honest workers should feel the ground solid under their feet and make it impossible

for any saboteur to damage the organization, should he dare to make such an attempt. I took these noble words to heart and never did I worry my head again on this score.

The Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1942 which synchronised with the visit of the Cripps Mission manifested another glorious feature of Mr. Jinnah's character—his magnanimity towards opponents! In the meeting of the Subjects Committee which preceded the open Session Maulana Hasrat Mohani attempted to move a resolution advocating outright rejection of the Cripps Scheme for the framing of the future constitution of India and laying down in detail the principles of the future constitution to which he wanted the League to adhere under all circumstances. The resolution had been lost in the Subjects Committee. According to rules it could not be moved again in the open Session. When a resolution, approved by the Subjects Committee, came before the open Session authorising Mr. Jinnah to continue negotiations with the Cripps Mission with a view to securing full and satisfactory recognition of the principle of Pakistan, Maulana Hasrat Mohani resorted to an indirect method by attempting to move his resolution as an amendment to the Subjects Committee's resolution before the open Session. Clearly the amendment was unconstitutional. Mr. Jinnah in a calm and closely reasoned speech explained the correct position. He could easily have ruled it out of order and there would have been an end of the matter. But he allowed Maulana Hasrat Mohani to speak on his amendment. The Maulana made an intemperate speech, and went to the extent of casting reflections on Mr. Jinnah's judgement and even intentions. He even expressed the suspicion that Mr. Jinnah would not uphold the Muslim League ideal and would accept something less than an independent and sovereign status for Pakistan. This caused a furore among the audience who were not prepared to hear a word against

Mr. Jinnah. The whole gathering was soon up on its feet; there were cries of "Withdraw, withdraw. We do not want to hear the Maulana. Pull him down." Some delegates were actually seen rushing towards the dais; they were with difficulty persuaded by the National Guards to desist from ascending the dais. Pandemonium raged all round. Any other person in place of Mr. Jinnah would have taken advantage of the situation and would have called upon Maulana Hasrat to resume his seat. But Mr. Jinnah, like the magnanimous man that he was, repeatedly called for order and asked the audience to give a patient hearing to the Maulana. Mr. Jinnah heard the Maulana's tirade against himself with good-humoured tolerance and kept smiling all the time. This was, however, a matter in which the people who were all for Mr. Jinnah were not willing to obey even his behest. An amusing incident took place in the enclosure where I happened to be sitting. Some delegates were saying that they should hear the Maulana as it was the wish of the Quaid-e-Azam himself; others hotly contested this assertion and said that they would not hear a word against the Quaid-e-Azam, even though he himself might ask them to do so. Though taking opposite stands both were inspired by the same passion—deep love and reverence for the Quaid-e-Azam. When the question was put to vote the vast gathering except for the Maulana and one or two other persons combined to turn down the amendment. The incident illustrates a trait all too rare in modern political leadership—large-hearted tolerance towards opponents!

The General Elections of 1945-46 provided the League with the long-sought opportunity to prove its representative character. It also gave to League workers, especially the youth, a chance to show their mettle. Quaid-e-Azam had always had great hopes in the youth of his nation, and it will redound to the eternal credit of the Aligarh youth that

they fulfilled the expectations of their leader on this occasion which was to determine the whole future destiny of Muslim India. The Quaid-e-Azam by this time had known me and watched my work for well nigh eight years. The confidence he reposed in me on this occasion will remain with me the most cherished possession of life. Under his direct instructions and with his full support some of us in Aligarh organized the election campaign of Aligarh youth on an elaborate scale. I cannot disclose details. But I can state that, as far as I can remember, we sent out over a thousand young workers to almost all provinces after imparting to them thorough training at a centre which had been specifically set up for the purpose. These tough and indomitable workers astonished even their admirers by the way they made sacrifices and faced all hardships and impediments, for it had become a popular belief that Aligarh men were accustomed to ways of ease and comfort. They carried everything before them and the work they put in was, in no small measure, responsible for the phenomenal victory of the Muslim League in the elections, which established, once and for all, its claim to speak on behalf of Muslim India and proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Pakistan was the national demand of the Mussalmans of India. It was especially in the provinces of the Punjab and Sind that the Aligarh workers together with their compatriots of the Punjab staked their all, fought with their backs to the wall and emerged triumphant. I can say without fear of contradiction that the League's cent per cent success in the second general election held in Sind towards the end of 1946 was due, in large measure, to the thorough and systematic work done by Aligarh men. Their best reward was the appreciation of their services by the Quaid-e-Azam.

It was in the course of the general election campaign that I had my last meeting with the Quaid-e-Azam. I had returned from a tour of the Punjab were I had gone with

co-workers to study the situation with a view to determining the extent and nature of help we could extend from Aligarh. It was a cold January morning of 1946. The Quaid-i-Azam was to receive the British Parliamentary Good-will Delegation that day; but he graciously gave me an appointment earlier in the morning. He received me in the library which was a large sunny room with green, upholstered sofas and chairs. He insisted on my sitting near the electric heater as it was rather cold. I gave him my impressions of the situation in the Punjab and also a resume of the first-hand reports we had received from our workers in other provinces. He made a careful note of the suggestions I offered for the more efficient prosecution of the election campaign and promised to consider them. He asked me to see to it that young workers did not embroil themselves in the squabbles about the distribution of League tickets to particular candidates. He also gave me some very useful hints as to the lines on which the young workers should campaign for League candidates, particularly in the majority provinces. I put him certain questions regarding the probable steps the League would take after the conclusion of the elections. As usual the interview enhanced both my knowledge and optimism. When I left him after about an hour's lively and instructive conversation I had no doubt left in my mind that the attainment of Pakistan was a matter of a year or so. This was my last interview with him. It will remain the regret of my life that owing to unpropitious circumstances I could not see him after the establishment of Pakistan.

I cannot give a better close-up of my impression of the Quaid-e-Azam than by quoting a passage from the Introduction I wrote to the book Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah:—

"In him you find an extraordinary combination of seemingly opposite traits which have made his personality a fascinating phenomenon of human greatness. He com-

bines richness of human feeling with acuteness of intellect, sternness of discipline with magnanimity of disposition robust optimism with caution and circumspection, unflinching courage with astute strategy, and national pride with meekness of spirit, born of true religious faith. His vision is high and untrammelled by momentary vicissitudes, his speech charming and invigorating, his soul saturated with the deepest pathos. Verily it was of such a leader that the great poet said :

نگہ بلند سخن دلنواز جاں پر سوز   یہی ہے رخت سفر میر کارواں کے لئے

QUAID-I-AZAM
THE MAN

The popular mind tends to attribute non-human or super-human qualities to heroic characters and conjures up a legendary or visionary picture of their personality. An idea grows that the great man or the hero is beyond or above human qualities, emotions or frailties. He is raised almost to the level of a disembodied spirit. Undoubtedly, this tendency leads to erroneous conclusions.

There are two categories of great men—one who is expansive and has a weakness for publicity; the other who is consumed entirely by the passion for work and service, keeps his emotional life strictly in check and cares little for public exhibition of his qualities and achievements.

The Quaid-i-Azam belonged to the second category. He did not think aloud. He was not fussy or demonstrative. He was far above allowing any propaganda agents to publicise his personal traits and virtues. He had no use for the tantrums of exhibitionism frequently indulged in by seekers of popularity.

Such a leader runs the risk of creating the impression that he lacks the human touch. The impression may or may not be true. In the case of the Quaid-i-Azam it certainly was not true. He was human, very human. But humanity in its sublimated form can be different from emotional effervescence which is what most people understand humanity to mean.

To superficial observers the Quaid-i-Azam might seem to be an aristocrat removed from the life of the masses of the people. The fact was otherwise. Soon after the completion of his education he was thrown entirely on his own resources. He knew what it was to struggle to earn a living

and support a family. For three years he went without a brief as a lawyer.

But persistence and patient effort could not go unrewarded. In the early phase of his career he faced hardships but by sheer dint of industry and ability he rose to the pinnacle of success and distinction.

It was, indeed, the intensity of his passionate concern for the misery and degradation of his people which led him, towards the evening of his life, when others seek comfort and repose, to throw the gauntlet to two powerful adversaries—British imperialism and Congress chauvinism—in order to release his people from their stranglehold.

His concern for the people found expression in solid, selfless service. He did not have to demonstrate it by adopting a pose of piety or playing on the sentiments or superstitions of the people. His honesty was too transparent to allow of the adoption of any posture.

Early in life the Quaid-i-Azam learnt to discipline his emotions, imbibe moral values and enlarge his vision. Warmth of feeling and emotions are good things, but uncultivated and uncontrolled they can lead one into errors and pitfalls. This is particularly so in the case of those who aim at something higher than a career of personal well-being and advancement.

The moment a man sincerely thinks of the good of his fellowmen, his higher self is awakened. His attitude and his sense of values change. His emotions and his yearnings are transmuted and sublimated to a higher level. He passes from the individual to the collective, the personal to the universal. All the latent reservoir of his emotion and sympathy turns into a strong moral fibre which serves as a foundation for an impeccable character and an unfailing source of inspiration for service of fellowmen and pursuit of idealism.

As I look back on the Quaid-i-Azam's life and assess his character, I can visualise that his was an example *par excellence*

of a man whose higher self was awakened and whose emotions underwent transmutation in consequence of devotion to moral idealism. He, indeed, exemplifies the character depicted by Iqbal in the following lines:

"Jis bandae haqbinki khudi ho gai bedar,
Shamshir ki manind hai burrinda-o-burraq"

His '*Khudi*, his higher self, worked like a bright armour which cut through the machinations of all those who sought to vassalise the Muslim nation.

When I speak of the sublimation of his emotion and sympathies to the higher plane I do not mean that the Quaid-i-Azam was incapable of emotional reactions. He was deeply moved by the sight of human misery and agony. But he had learnt to rationalise his emotions. He realised that if he wanted to do any positive good to his people he must translate his emotions and affections into a burning flame which would inspire him constantly to work for the collective good.

A man thus inspired certainly could not be expected to be interested in individuals as individuals, because that would detract from active pursuit of the higher objective. To the Quaid-i-Azam everyone, whatever his station in life, who worked selflessly for his nation was his friend, others could not claim that privilege.

I can say from personal knowledge that a sincere worker, however humble his position, had ready access to him and received from him the fullest encouragement, advice and help. Whenever he met the Quaid-i-Azam, he could feel the glow of his warm humanity and the charm of his graciousness. Such men could never fail to notice the Quaid-i-Azam's intense humanity. Of course, it was a humanity which concentrated itself on the hapless lot of the suffering people.

The story of how he decided to return to India after four years' stay in England itself is an eloquent manifestation of the human side of his character. I can recall a very revealing conversation just before the Lahore session of the

Muslim League in the course of which he explained the circumstances which impelled him to return to India in 1935.

Living in England while the Government of India Act of 1935 was on the anvil in the British Parliament the Quaid-i-Azam keenly realised that the introduction of the provinciral part of the Act, based as it was on the principle of numerical majority rule without qualification, would endanger Muslim interests, and, if later on the federal part too were enforced, the Muslims would be reduced to political servitude all over the country. He felt as if his people were crying out to him and it was like 'a call of blood'. He lost no time in returning to India. Surely, a man who could thus be moved by the thought of the distress of his people from a distance of 7,000 miles and feel it like 'a call of blood' could only be a very human person !

Popular tradition also associates with the Quaid-i-Azam the traits of loneliness and aloofness. This again requires a little close examination. Most heroic figures in history have been known to live a seemingly lonely life and to have an air of aloofness about them. Why is it so ? As I have already explained, a man who is dedicated to a mission or a higher ideal begins to move and have his being on a different plane from the common run of life. He is absorbed by an idea and a passion. Usually such men are deeply reflective. Their inner life often becomes more intense and real for them than the outward life. This state of life is aptly described by Ghalib :

"Hai admi bajai khud ek mahshare khiyal,
Ham anjuman samajhte hain khilwat hi keon na ho"

He cogitates on the possibilities of his mission, on how to translate it into reality. He experiences within himself doubts, fears, hopes, longings, conflicts, all of which he resolves into a positive and determined attitude. This process naturally tends to turn the dedicated man into an outwardly lonely figure.

He is not really lonely, for his whole being is wrapped up in the thought of the happiness and well-being of his people.

This was the secret also of the Quaid-i-Azam's loneliness. Those who worked for him during the days of the Pakistan struggle can vividly recall how his whole life was one saga of spiritual union with the pulsations and yearnings of an entire nation.

If there is any country in the present-day world of which it could be said that its genesis and structure is so completely indentified with the life and thoughts of its creator, it is the one founded by the Quaid-i-Azam !

As for aloofness, if you take it to mean disposition to avoid contact with the people, the Quaid-i-Azam was certainly not aloof in this sense. He exhuded charm, graciousness, a paternal affection and that innate courtesy and consideration which had no air of condescension or pretension about it. If you met him you could not escape the contagion of his vibrant enthusiasm, his intense sincerity and the reality of his idealism not as something remote but as a living factor.

How else could he have evoked the passionate devotion and loyalty of millions of followers which has not fallen to the lot of any other leader in the sub-continent and which survives unabated even after his physical death :

The impression of aloofness in his case can better be described as self-detachment. He was of the people and with the people and yet he retained an attitude of detachment which saved him from involvement in ignoble strife or lower interests. He went through the bitterest political controversy and conflict and emerged with his hands absolutely clean like the righteous man of Iqbal's conception :

"Anjuman men bhi muyassar rahi khilwat us ko,
Shame-mahfil ki tarah sab se juda sab ka rafiq".

This was the attitude which inspired faith in his leadership. He was not interested in individuals as such. He

had no favourites. He was scrupulously fair and just in his dealings.

There were, of course, certain types of people whom he did not approve of. The foremost on this list were opportunists, flatterers and self-seekers. He also disliked those who lacked a sense of duty, responsibility, and punctuality, those who were careless and solvenly and those who took airs and pretended to be what they were not. He hated sham, cant and hypocrisy in every shape and form.

The man who elicited his admiration was the honest man, the truthful man, the courageous man and the man devoted to his duty, irrespective of his position in life. No one could impress him by making a show of his qualities or attainments. That is why humble but sincere workers and not big guns lacking sincerity received encouragement from him.

In moments of relaxation which for him, alas ! were few and far between his personal charm could be seen at its best. His delightful talk at meal-times revealed his vivid interest in the small things of day-to-day life. His witty remarks on the aspects of human behaviour in all sorts of situations showed his deep interest and insight into the aspects of human nature.

He had an inexhaustible fund of interesting stories which he related in his own inimitable style to suit the point under discussion. He had a versatile mind and a catholic outlook. He could talk to everyone according to his intellectual level, taste or interest and make him feel happy.

I can say from experience and without exaggeration that he was that rare type of conversationalist to whom one could listen for hours and hours without the slightest feeling of boredom. He could be humorous, very humorous without being sardonic, because he certainly did not want to hurt feelings or make anyone feel small. His wit was like a scintillating star which never failed to shed its brilliance.

It had the sharpness of the edge of a rapier cutting fine and clean.

There is no known instance of his wit having failed against anyone else's in the cut-and-thrust of personal banter or public debate. Perhaps that was the reason why he was seldom interrupted in his speeches.

His human traits were all too evident during conversations. He started slowly at first. You were at once bewitched by the musical ring of his cultured voice, the beauty of his intonation and the easy flow of his expression. Words fell from his lips like exquisitely chiselled pearls and rubies and one found it difficult to gather them all in one's lap.

As he got into the stride, you were moved by the intensity of his intellectual passion; the emotional fervour was not much in evidence as he always kept his emotions in check. While hearing the Quaid-i-Azam you could mark how his whole being vibrated in sympathy and concern for the plight of his people.

The Quaid-i-Azam was stern and relentless only where the national cause and honour and some fundamental principles were concerned. In his personal life he was most humane, tolerant, forbearing. A personal wrong or affront to him he could always forgive in the interest of the nation.

In conclusion, I should like to mention just one fact which would show on what elevated plane his humanity manifested itself. After his death his will revealed that he had bequeathed a large sum of his hard-earned money for the good of the people. Out of this bequest several educational and other institutions have received substantial donations. His humanity expressed itself in a form by which not some individuals but successive generations of people are benefitting. It is a rare instance of a political leader practising such philanthropy for the well-being of the people in addition to his national and political services which by themselves have entitled him to their lasting gratitude.

ASPECTS OF HIS LEADERSHIP

Of the great personages of history there have been some who created their own pattern and tradition of leadership which reflected their special genius. To this class belongs Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah. He did not have greatness thrust on him; he achieved greatness through the cultivation of his talents and faculties and the building up of a character that emerged unscathed from all vicissitudes like burnished gold out of fire.

Happily the Quaid-i-Azam as a young man chose a profession which gave ample scope for his innate qualities to blossom forth and fructify. Undismayed by handicaps and with amazing perseverance and brilliance he worked his way up in the legal profession till he attained the enviable position of leader of the bar at one of the foremost courts of judicature in British India and his fame spread far and wide. His abilities as a convincing and accomplished speaker and a skilful and effective debater contributed in no small measure to his success at the bar. But his mental energies and moral gifts must have called for a wider field; so he was naturally led into public life and politics.

The Quaid-i-Azam started his public career as a parliamentarian which was the first step towards popular and national leadership. In many a parliamentary battle he was the hero of the day. From 1909 onwards when he was first elected unopposed as the representative of the Muslims of Bombay with the Imperial Legislative Council he crossed swords to many a powerful debater and invariably came out with flying colours. His parlimentary speeches showed masterly grasp of the subject under discussion and incisive reasoning whose appeal was irresistible. In the Legislature he shone as the epitome of the parliamentary decorum, the

grand manner, the elegant style. He combined all the qualities of outward deportment and bearing with those of intellect and character. For parliamentary leadership he seemed to have been cut out from the beginning. Quick perception of legal quibbles and legislative intricacies was ingrained in his blood. Deep understanding of broad political issues and the moves on the political chess-board was equally within his ken.

For some years the Quaid-i-Azam was, by and large, a leader of the intelligentsia. There seemed to be a certain kind of aloofness about him. But it was only due to scorn of cheap popularity. He never allowed himself to become that type of leader who swims with the current of popular fancies and passions on the chance of finding himself on the crest of it. He had a scale of values; he believed in the sanctity of right methods to attain righteous ends ; he stood for principles and convictions which he never compromised or jettisoned, whatever the temptation, pressure or risk. He was not expansive by nature and had no weakness for publicity. Entirely consumed by the passion for work and service, he kept his emotional life strictly in check and cared little for public display of his qualities and accomplishments. He was not fussy or demonstrative and had no use for the tantrums of exhibitionism frequently indulged in by seekers of popularity. Some people mistook his detachment for coldness. This again was due to his detestation of the methods employed by many politicians to carve out a career for themselves by trading on the ignorance of the people and exciting popular passsions.

A most dangerous situation was created for the Muslims by the coming into office of Congress Ministries in the Hindu majority Provinces which were hostile to Muslims in spirit and action in 1937. A man of courage, vision and sagacity was needed to steer the Muslims through the thorny path. They were between two fires—the British bureaucracy

and the new obligarchy of the Congress. A campaign of persecution, demoralisation and cultural and economic suppression was launched against the Muslims. Those who had till then been posing as their leaders had stifled in them the spirit of self-help and self-assertion. The Muslims had been reduced to a state of political sycophancy. In this state of despendency and frustration they looked round for a man who would pull them out of their ruts and launch them on a new path of hope and action, and they found him in Mohammed Ali Jinnah. All his inherent qualities of character and intellect were brought into full play. His most ardent admirers were astonished by the ability, confidence and strength with which he assumed the leadership of a people who had been rather notorious for pushing up and pulling down leaders at short intervals. His political acumen, his vision and will, his capacity for drive and organisation were put to the severest test and his phenomenal success dazzled the eyes of friend and foe alike. He lent even greater lustre to his new role.

So far as the magnificence of demonstrations, the display of popular enthusiasim, the expression of the people's support and attachment were concerned, it is undeniable that the Quaid-i-Azam surpassed the record of all political leaders in India. A man of lesser calibre and smaller mind might have been swept off his feet by all the show of admiration and backing. But the Quaid-i-Azam stood on a higher level. To the despair of his opponents and to the delight of his admirers, his following and popularity among his people went on increasing every day. For, as Richard Steele, the celebrated essayist, remarks about one of his characters, "the probity of his mind and the integrity of his life create him followers as being eloquent and loud advances others." In the case of the Quaid-i-Azam it may be said that, besides probity of mind and integrity of life, his single-minded devotion to his cause and unremitting application to work for the advancement of his people brought him more and more followers.

A distinctive feature of the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership was that he achieved the maximum result with the minimum effort. Like economy of words in speech he practised economy of effort in practical politics. It is not that he avoided action; rather he believed in conserving one's energy and strength for bigger causes and issues. He did not want his followers to fritter away their energies in fruitless wrangles over narrow, parochial and momentary issues. He put his whole heart and soul into one vital fundamental issue of emancipating the Muslims from the double yoke of British imperialism and Hindu domination and concretising their urge for freedom in the shape of a separate sovereign state. He would not himself be deflected nor allow his followers to be deflected by a bewildering multiplicity of religious, cultural, social, economic and other issues. Step by step, slowly and steadily he took his followers forward to their cherished goal. He believed in full and thorough preparation before an action was taken. As he himself said, "Think hundred times before you take any decision, but once a decision is taken stand by it as one man." Once he was convinced that the bulk of his people, not necessarily all, were consciously behind a policy and were fully prepared and equipped there was no danger and no power which he was not ready to face along with his followers. Therein lay the secret of his success as a mass leader.

The Quaid-i-Azam never adopted a pose nor did he sail under false colours. He did not set up as a saint or a divine preaching to the ordinary mortals from a pontific pedestal. It was not his way to weave a *hocus-pocus* of spiritual inanities. He did not seek to foist his own fancies and fiats on his followers with dogmatic authority. He rather felt the pulse of the people, the vibrations of their hearts and the stirrings of their minds. He delved into the imost depths of their hearts and then spoke out their minds boldly and fearlessly. The

Quaid-i-Azam did not allow his followers to become blind worshippers or imitators. He made them think for themselves. Along the rugged path of national struggle, he walked with his people, cheering them up in the state of despondency, putting heart and courage in them in adversity and holding up the torch to them to illumine their path in moments of gloom. He was a people's man sharing their joys and sorrows in equal measure. A democrat to his finger-tips, he always followed entirely democratic methods and conducted his movement on democratic lines towards democratic ends. The charge that he was dictatorial in temper or method is singularly inapt. If his lead or advice was invariably accepted by his people it was simply because it always carried conviction by virtue of its eminent sensibility and force of logic. The present writer can recall that the Quaid-i-Azam resolutely turned down a proposal made by a Muslim League leader from Bihar (Nawab Syed Mohammed Ismail) at a meeting of the Muslim League Council that the Quaid-i-Azam be elected Life-President of the League. In disapproving the proposal he remarked that according to democratic practices he must come to the members of the Council every year to seek a renewal of their confidence on the basis of his work and service. That certainly does not reflect a dictatorial temper.

When he was convinced that his people had come round to a particular viewpoint the Quaid-i-Azam did not hesitate to declare it openly to the world. This can be briefly illustrated. The working of the democratic parliamentary system of government on Western lines in Congress-governed provinces had given a rude shock to Muslims and opened their eyes to the futility of seeking protection of their rights and interests as a minority under this system. Quickly perceiving the direction in which the Muslim mind was working, the Quaid-i-Azam came out with the courageous declaration that the Western parliamentary democracy was unsuited to India. It was a bitter pill for the Hindu majority to swallow, for it

dashed all their hopes of establishing their domination over all others in India. Again, keeping his hand on the pulse of his people, he boldly asserted that the Muslims of India are a separate and distinct nation by themselves and that any future constitution for India must recognise the fact that there was two major nations in the country. His people having arrived at this stage of psychological development at which they readily regained their national and cultural self-consciousness, the next stage of the perception and clarification of their national goal was easily and speedily reached. Like a shrewd and sympathetic observer he again searched the mind of his people to discover as to what were their innermost desires and aspirations. He found that they were now prepared to stand up with the claim for sovereign political power to shape their own life unhampered and unrestricted. He therefore brought out the proposal for the establishment of an independent sovereign state in the regions of Muslim majority which represented the universal faith and the cherished ideal of a hundred million Mussulmans of the sub-continent.

In modern times there have been several examples of men of outstanding calibre rescuing their people from degradation and enslavement. Their task, however, was comparatively easier as their people were already free people. They had not lost their spirit and fighting qualities and had only to struggle for retaining their freedom. But in a subject country like India which had been under alien rule for about a hundred and fifty years, it was nothing short of a miracle to have raised a dead people to life, in fact to have created a unified nation out of a torpid mass of scattered, demoralised and dispirited people who had lost all sense of self-respect and self-assertion. The Quaid-i-Azam raised them to a status of prestige and dignity, so that Muslim India came to be recognised as a constituent factor in the framing of any constitutional scheme, and it was established that no consti-

tution which did not receive their willing assent could be enacted or enforced.

It was natural that, from the time he began to organise the Muslims for the protection of their rights, the Quaid-i-Azam was not a persona grata with the Congress and other Hindu circles. He was painted as the villain of the piece, as the stumbbing block in the way of Indian freedom. There was no calumnly, no vituperation, no scurrilous attack that was not hurled at him. But he stood firm as a rock against all onslaughts. The fiercer the opposition, the firmer was his determination to achieve freedom for his people, as the poet has said:

> "Tazeer-i-jurm-i-ishq hai be sarfa muhtasib
> Barhta hai aur zauq-i-gunah har saza ke ba'ad."

Neither flattery and laudation could deflect him from his course nor threat and calumny unnerve him. No price could purchase him and no temptation lead him stray. He remainedunaffected by all the bitterness the Congress had created all round and moved with his characteristic dignity and magnanimity right till the end. But he could never be taken in by the designs of the opponents of Muslim freedom. He had a knack for check-mating and foiling the moves and manoeuvres to entrap and injure the Muslims.

If the Quaid-i-Azam was a strict disciplinarian, he was first of all strict with himself. He kept perfect control over his sentiments and likes and dislikes. But he could always subordinate his feelings and predilections to a higher cause and a nobler principle. He even worked with some persons of doubtful loyalty and character in the larger interest of the people. The world did not know what wounds he suffered in private. He was too self-respecting to make them known. He readily forgave those who hurt him personally but he never hesitated to take action against them when they betrayed the national interests.

Sometimes it was alleged that the Quaid-i-Azam was proud, arrogant and stiff-necked. But the critics missed the point as to what was the basis of his supposed pride and arrogance. The Quaid-i-Azam was a proud man only in the sense that he, being the spokesman and mouth-piece of Muslim India, did not allow its prestige and status to be lowered in any circumstances. He was proud against the proud and the haughty. Power had gone to the heads of the Congress leaders. At one stage Mr. Nehru had gone to the length of boasting that there were only two parties in the country — the Congress and the British Government — and others must simply line up, and further that a Congress volunteer was better than a thousand Jinnahs! A couple of years later the world saw the same Mr. Nehru as well as Mr. Gandhi and other Congress high-ups knocking at the door of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. That was the secret of his pride. It brought sense into the minds of the opponents of Muslim solidarity and Muslim freedom. He was proud only where the honour and interest of Muslim India were in question. But to the humble and unassuming servants of the Muslim nation or, for the matter of that, to any humble individual the Quaid-i-Azam was the soul of courtesy and kindness. The present writer can say from experience that the Quaid-i-Azam was a beacon-light, a ready source of inspiration to anyone who sought to render it selfless service to his people. You felt uplifted and inspired in his presence which again is a sign of true greatness.

As a leader of the people the Quaid-i-Azam showed keen perception of the mass mind and impulse as well as shrewd insight into political moves and diplomatic manoeuvres. Somehow he always knew, as if by intuition, the psychological moments in the political life of the country. His patience was inexhaustible and he could wait for the right moment. But when the time came he struck and struck hard with unerring agility and precision. A few instances may be

noted. After the outbreak of the Second World War there were several occasions on which his powers of initiative, decision and strategy were put to test. When the Congress Ministries which had earned an unenviable reputation for ill-treating and repressing Muslim minorities ceased to function the Quaid-i-Azam appealed for observance of a Day of Deliverance and Thanks-giving to mark the sense of relief and gratitude which the Muslims and other minorities felt at the termination of the unjust Congress regime. The Day was observed with intense religious fervour and unparalleled enthusiasm in every nook and corner of India. It set an original example of political demonstration. The stroke went home. It demonstrated the utter impracticability of the British parliamentary democracy in a heterogeneous country like India and dashed to the ground all hopes of establishing Congress raj or Hindu domination over the whole country.

Another occasion when he showed the ability to make a strategic move and a supreme courage to uphold the policy of his organisation in the face of imminent peril was the British Government's announcement regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Council and the constitution of a so-called National Defence Council. A well-planned move was made to wean away some prominent members of the Muslim League over the head of the leader and the executive of the organisation and thereby create disruption in it. The Quaid-i-Azam took courage in both hands and saved the prestige, honour and solidarity of Muslim India by compelling the erring members to retrace their steps and obey the mandate of their organisation. The gravity of the step he took and the immensity of his achievement can only be gauged when one considers the position and influence of the individual members in question, and the might of the party which had made the attempt to disrupt the Muslim League organisation.

The Quaid-i-Azam's greatest strategic triumph was his successful handling of the situation which arose out of the

British Government's action in by-passing the Muslim League and installing the Hindu Congress in power at the Centre in 1946. This was contrary to all the solemn pledges and assurances given to Muslim India in successive announcements of British constitutional policy in 1940, 1941 1942 and even the last assurance by the Cabinet Mission in 1946. The situation was pregnant with the darkest portents. The thoughtless action of the British Government and Congress rapacity for monopoly of power were leading the country to the brink of a precipice. But they soon realised that it would not be possible to carry on even a provisional Government without the participation of the Muslim League. Both of them had to reopen negotiations with the Quaid-i-Azam. It will be recalled that acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plan for constitution-making and willingness to join the Constituent Assembly envisaged in the Plan was the *sine qua non* for the participation of every Party in the Interim Government. But the Congress had been included in the Government, even though it had not accepted the Plan as clarified by the Mission. The Quaid-i-Azam succeeded in getting the Muslim League into the Interim Government in its own right without in any way recognising the Congress leadership of the Government and without any commitment to join the Constituent Assembly which it had boycotted. Thus a tragic situation was averted and the way was paved for the establishment of Pakistan within less than a year.

It is said that character is destiny. It transcends circumstances. If this could truly be said of any leader it was Mohammed Ali Jinnah. He proved by his character that Islam in this sub-continent is a destiny, it would suffer no destiny. He refused to be the play-thing of circumstances or political expediency. Like the master-mind that he was, he over-rode events and created his own circumstances. He held the key to the situation in India and he used it at the right moment to win freedom for his people and deliver

them from domination of two forces—British and Hindu. His foremost achievement was his own impeccable character which presented a picture of complete consonance between private life and public life. Though always in the thick of the battle, he remained untainted by the dross of political strife, because his weapons were incorruptible integrity, indomitable courage and wisdom born of true faith (Firasat-i-Imani). By example rather than precept he proved that even in the present-day materialistic world if one adheres to truth and justice one ultimately emerges successful from any crisis, no matter what dangers and calamities beset one's path. It would be a tragedy of the first magnitude if the people of Pakistan fail to take inspiration from his life-example and allow themselves to be deflected from the path he has shown —the path of subordination of all mundane considerations to moral ends, of devotion to democratic values, of enlightened interpretation of the vitalising principles of Islam as a life-concept and a state-idea !

AS HEAD OF STATE

Viewed in retrospect one aspect of the Pakistan movement emerges prominently. It was a movement democratic in spirit and conception, conducted and pursued by democratic means and methods towards democratic ends. A people with a long history and tradition and a distinct life-outlook and ideology honestly felt themselves to be a separate-cultural and national entity. They had genuine apprehensions, supported by bitter historical experience, that their freedom and way of life were in real danger of merger and obliteration in an alien society larger in numbers and aggressive in outlook. Two such societies could not exist and flourish within a single democratic structure which pre-supposes the existence of a homogeneous society free from internal tensions and stresses. The Muslim society, therefore, had to seek its deliverance and destiny in the shape of a state of its own embracing the contiguous regions of its majority—a perfectly legitimate process justified by all canons of democracy.

Pakistan was not a concept imposed on the Muslim mind from above, it was not even a reaction to what the alien society did or did not do. The faint, inarticulate glimmerings of Pakistan ever stirred the hearts of the Muslims; the poet-philosopher Iqbal gave expression to these stirrings. It needed the political genius and courage of the Quaid-i-Azam to give shape, direction and force to the Muslims' urge and quest for freedom by concretising them in the form of a feasible, well-defined political and constitutional plan—Pakistan. Mohammed Ali Jinnah was a leader who had the unique gift of constantly feeling the pulse and reading the mind of his people and giving bold, clear and forceful

expression to their innermost urges and aspirations. In a remarkable speech at Aligarh on 8th March 1944 the Quaid-i-Azam explained the true genesis of Pakistan. Said he, "Pakistan was not the product of the conduct or misconduct of the Hindus. It had always been there; only they were not conscious of it. Hindus and Muslims, though living in the same towns and villages, had never blended into one nation; they were always two separate entities".

As a man honest to the core of his being, Quaid-i-Azam never claimed credit for originating the idea of Pakistan. In the same speech he made it known that once he had been asked in a gathering of high European and American officials as to who was the author of Pakistan, and his reply was "Every Mussulman". The objective of the Pakistan movement had two facets—to free the Muslims from Hindu domination; to enable them in a congenial atmosphere to pursue their destiny according to their faith and ideology. As the Quaid-i-Azam explained in his message to the students of the former North-Western Frontier Province in 1945, "Pakistan not only means freedom and independence but the Muslim ideology which has to be preserved, which has come to us as a precious gift and treasure and which, we hope, others will share with us".

Such being its psychogloical origin, the Pakistan movement had to be reared and carried forward by a political organization national in dimension and democratic in spirit and structure. This organization had its roots in and derived sustenance from the hearts of the people. Time was not its sede; it had to make good in the brief space of a decade the deficiencies and draw-backs resulting from the inertia of half a century. It did not possess in abundance the wherewithal of modern political warfare—press, trained and devoted workers, finance, propaganda machinery etc. Its greatest asset was its leader—a man of matchless sagacity, integrity and—courage and the unswerving devotion and

unflinching spirit of sacrifice of his followers, the hundred million Mussulmans. By sheer force of determination and supreme effort the leader undoubtedly succeeded in arousing political consciousness of a high order among his followers and filling their hearts with his own burning passion for freedom. He welded a dispirited and divided people into a virile and unified nation determined to resist to the point of death all attempts by two powerful adversaries—British imperialism and Hindu Congress—to reduce them to political and economic servitude.

Nothing more positive, nothing more spectacular could be achieved in the brief space of ten years—1937 to 1947. It was primarily the impetus and momentum supplied by its dynamic leader which helped this mighty political machine to move forward, but in the nature of things it could not attain that soundness and perfection which comes from a much longer period of work and sacrifice, training and and apprenticeship of all cadres of leadership and workers. It was certainly no fault of the leader who did all that was humanly possible, within the short time and limited resources at his disposal, to build up the organization to fight the political battle of the Muslim nation. Looking back in retrospect it has to be admitted that the intermediate cadres of leadership, by and large, did not come up to that standard which was necessary to ensure the continuity of the pursuit of the basic values and objectives of the Pakistan movement after Pakistan had come into being as an independent state.

The successful issue of every revolutionary movement—and Pakistan was a revolutionary movement—depends on an organised body of public opinion which embodies and reflects the spirit and values of that movement. History furnishes examples of movements being deflected from their destined path because of replacement of faith, vision and idealism by self-seeking and parochialism and infiltration of elements not inspired by loyalty to the ideals of the

movement. This danger is particularly evident when a freedom movement has attained the first stage of its goal—namely emancipation from alien rule—and is on the way to translating its ideals into practice. The founder of Pakistan was keenly aware of this danger. He was not only the constitutional head of the state but also the leader of the people from whom they expected guidance in all their difficulties. When he found soon after the establishment of Pakistan that forces were arising threatening the ideological and spiritual moorings of Pakistan he warned the people in the clearest terms against mushroom parties and observed, "Honest change is welcome, but the present emergency requires that every Mussulman should come under the banner of the Muslim League. which is the true custodian of Pakistan, and build it up and make it a great state before we can think of parties among ourselves which may be formed later on sound and healthy lines".

These remarks should be viewed in the context of the initial period of Pakistan's existence when it was faced with colossal problems of self-preservatiocn and survival against stupendous difficulties. The constitution had yet to be framed; even a full-fledged administrative machinery was yet in the process of being set up; the economy of the country lay dislocated and was further burdened by an unprecedented influx of uprooted people; the threats from across the border were mounting every day. It was against this background that the Quaid-e-Azam called for united efforts under the flag of the organization which had brought Pakistan into existence.

In a state which sets out on the path of democratic evolution no governmental activity, however efficient or beneficent, can take the place of political enlightenment and organization. A people's national spirit and enthusiasm for constructive effort can only be evoked and kept up if they are made to feel that the Government is an instrument

of their choice devoted to their service and theirs is the decisive voice in the shaping of its policies and programmes. It is not enough for Ministers in a democratic set-up to work at their desks and dispose of files; they have to take the people into confidence, to explain governmental policies to them and to ascertain their views and wishes in order to frame policies which would elicit their acceptance and cooperation. It is a two-way traffic. Government receives impetus and confidence from its contact with the public; the people's interest in national life and progress is kindled and their coustructive endeavours are stimulated.

More than any one else the Quaid-i-Azam realised the importance of this living relationship between a democratic government and the people. He was the constitutional head of the Government and he had no direct administrative responsibility. But during the short period that he lived after the creation of Pakistan he undertook, despite failing health, long and arduous journeys to the remotest parts of the country in an effort to keep up the confidence and moral of the people. In the darkest moments of trial and tribulation he encouraged and sustained them, explaining to them both their obligations and rights, warning them of the dangers and problems they were surrounded with, exhorting them as to how they should conduct themselves in a democratic set-up and how they could build up Pakistan into the State of their dreams. The first few months following its establishment saw Pakistan engulfed in the greatest peril and adversity. Shattered by well-planned blows from across the border, the spirits of the people were drooping and there was danger of all-round collapse. A stirring call by the Quaid-i-Azam at a record gathering at Lahore rallied the people and revived their faith and confidence leading to concerted and determined efforts which saved the country from utter ruination. As a leader with democratic instincts he never flinched from direct contact with the

people even in the face of violent agitations. It may be recalled how, by direct appeal to the people early in 1948, he successfully tackled two agitations which threatened to assume serious proportions—the language agitation in East Bengal and the agitation against separation of Karachi from the former province of Sind.

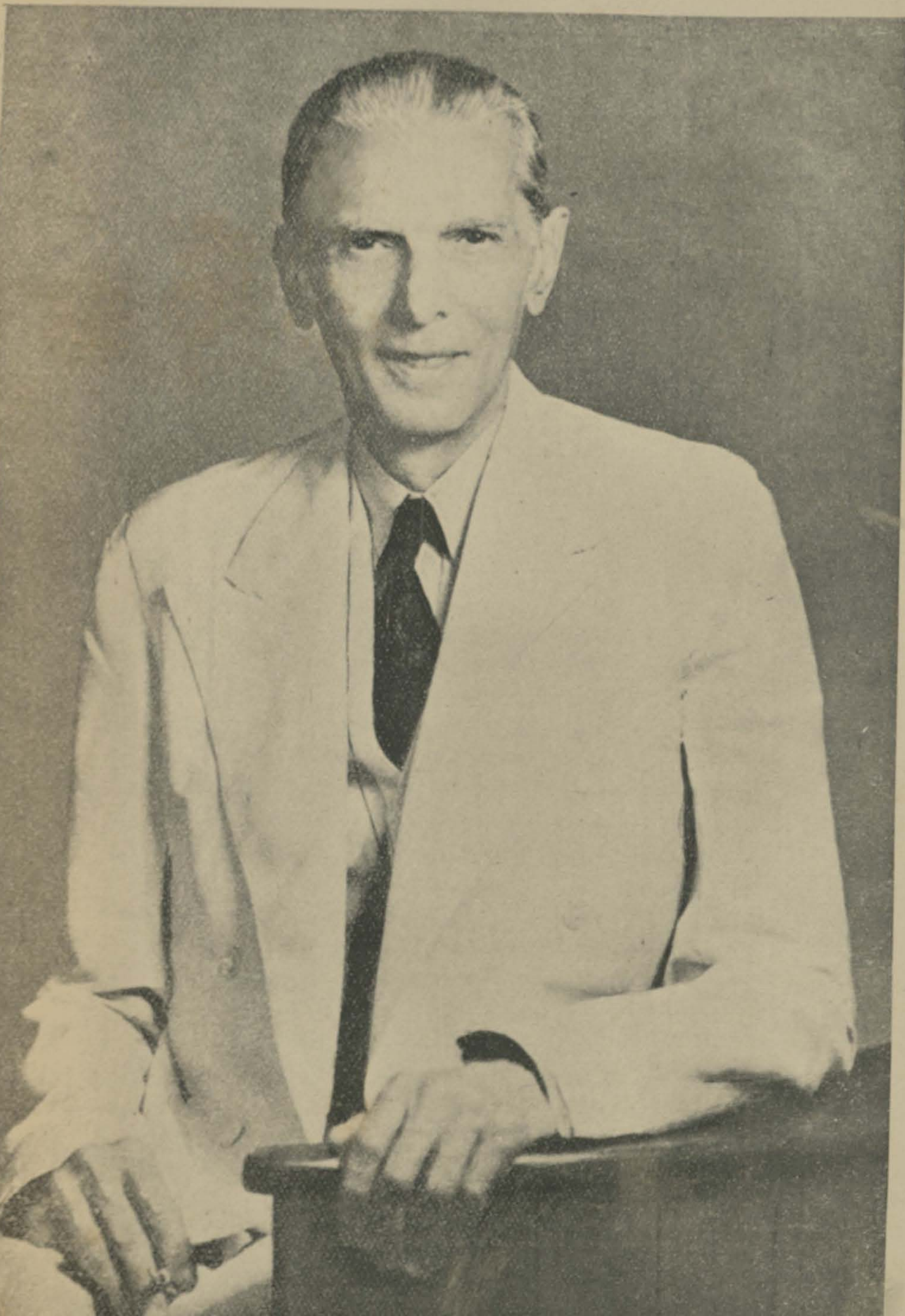
The Quaid-i-Azam was anxious to lay down correct precedents and traditions for the growth of a democratic body-politic in Pakistan. He enjoyed immense prestige, popularity and power. As such he could have done anything; he could have employed extra-constitutional methods and his edicts would have been willingly followed by the people. But it is on record that he conducted himself strictly as a constitutional head of the state. He never deviated from democratic conventions and constitutional propriety. Indeed, he was always anxious to uphold people's sovereignty against any constitutional ambiguity. He clearly stated his view about the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly or the Constitution-making body, although it meant diminution of his own powers as Governor-General. There is another instance of his deep regard for constitutional rectitude. It may be recalled that for a few months after the creation of Pakistan the Quaid-i-Azam had continued to be President of the body called All-India Muslim League. When it was split up into the Indian Muslim League and Pakistan Muslim League the office of the President of the latter body was offered to him, but he declined to accept it despite his long personal association with the body, because he considered it inconsistent with his position as Head of the State.

It is well-known that, as an eminent and successful barrister, the Quaid-i-Azam wielded a very lucrative practice at the bar which enabled him to live in comfort and affluence. When, however, he became Governor-General of Pakistan he eschewed all the pomp and ostentation that went with the office of Governor-General in British India. As

the chosen Head of the Pakistan State, representing the people, he introduced a note of simplicity and even austerity into the conduct of his high office in keeping with the conditions prevailing in a newly-formed state beset with problems of appaling magnitude.

The Quaid-i-Azam knew very well the dangers to a nascent state of the practice of officials taking interest in politics or being dragged to serve political ends. Time and again he warned against this pernicious practice, and explained the correct role and function of the officials, or as they are popularly called, bureaucracy. In his talk to Government Officers at Peshawar in April 1948 he emphasised "you should have no hand in supporting this political party or that political party, this political leader or that political leader, this is not your business. Whichever Government is formed, according to the constitution, and whoever happens to be the Prime Minister or Minister, coming into power in the ordinary constitutional course, your duty is not only to serve that Government loyally and faithfully but, at the same time, fearlessly maintain your reputation, your prestige, your honour and the integrity of your service. While impressing this upon your side, I wish also to take the opportunity of impressing upon our leaders and politicians in the same way that if they ever try to interfere with you and bring political pressure to bear on you which leads to nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism, if they try and interfere with you in this way, I say, they are doing nothing but disservice to Pakistan".

The brief period of the Quaid-i-Azam's stewardship of the State was thus remarkable for some exceedingly sound and healthy precedents living relationship between the powers—that—be and the people, winning trust by service and trust, respect for popular wishes and feelings, fostering of democratic conventions and values, scrupulous regard for constitutional rectitude and rule of law, political leaders



and officials to work in their respective well-defined spheres. These precedents could have, in course of time, developed into strong traditions which serve as a safeguard for the people's freedom and sovereignty. They go into-the blood and become part of the warp and woof of a people's being and unconsciously govern their collective behaviour. If the lead given by the Quaid-i-Azam had been followed many of the frustrations and maladies which afflicted the country after his demise would have been avoided.

SOME CRITICISMS ANSWERED

Quaid-i-Azam's greatness and achievements have not been directly challenged, but subtle attempts have been made by some unfriendly elements to spread notions and theories which, if left uncontradicted, can have the effect of creating a totally erroneous impression about his character and personality. Let us take up some of these criticisms and examine them in the light of known facts.

Some critics have alleged that Quaid-i-Azam was by nature a commander and a leader of men, he was not to be treated as a colleague and he demanded lieutenants who would serve him rather than partners who would argue with him.

If a man by nature is commander and leader of men that does not actually make him a leader. It is a leader's character, talent and service over a long period of time that wins him the confidence, loyalty and affection of the people. This applies also to the Quaid-i-Azam, especially because the Muslims of the sub-continent were never known to be a people who tamely accepted any imposed leadership. Then, lieutenants cannot be had to order. A leader has to have qualities which would inspire a number of other leading men to become his lieutenants. The Quaid-i-Azam never had any power to compel nor did he actually compel any one to become his lieutenant or serve him.

As for the freedom to argue with him it was always there. At meetings of the Working Committee and the Council of the Muslim League he, as President, allowed the fullest freedom of discussion. It is well-known that reason and logic were his strongest weapons with which he fought his political battles. He was always ready and willing to explain his viewpoint and ideas to anyone who wished to

discuss matters with him and he would take great pains to convince others with his logical arguments. This fact is borne out by no less a man than the late Sir Stafford Cripps who, if anything, had pronounced leanings towards the Congress and the Hindu leaders.

Then, there is the oft-repeated charge that in manner he was cold and unyielding, a man to inspire either fury or devotion. A cold man may win admiration but not devotion, and certainly he cannot inspire affection or personal loyalty. Quaid-i-Azam aroused boundless affection and even personal loyalty in the hearts of vast numbers of people who were ready to lay down their lives at a signal from him. His emotional warmth had become sublimated and concentrated in a passion of service and resoluteness and integrity of character which a warm-hearted people like the Muslims readily recognised and appreciated. As for his alleged coldness one might recall the remark made by Sir Patrick Spens, eminent jurist and former Chief Justice of pre-independence India, "I know there are some people who claim that Mr. Jinnah was inclined to be cold and aloof in manner. I can only say that I never found him so."

Another criticism is that Quaid-i-Azam organized the campaign for Pakistan as though he were a commander-in-chief issuing orders of the day to encourage the troops and technical directions to the local commanders. In this connection an example is cited, namely he is supposed to have compelled the Chief Ministers of the Muslim majority provinces to resign from the National Defence Council in 1941, because the invitation to join the Council had not come through him.

Even a cursory glance at the proceedings and the mode of working of the All-India Muslim League would show that the Quaid-i-Azam followed the methods of a democratic leader and not those of an Army Commander.

The All-India Muslim League worked mainly through two organs, its General Council and its Working Committee (Executive). The Quaid-i-Azam never anticipated the decisions of these bodies nor attempted to influence their decisions one way or the other before their meetings. As Chairman of meetings he allowed full freedom of discussion. He was only concerned with regulating discussions according to rules of procedure and bounds of relevancy.

Whatever directives he issued to the provincial branches or the members of the Muslim League in general were strictly in accordance with and in pursuance of the decisions taken by the Working Committee or Council of the Muslim League. The Provincial Branches were autonomous bodies, working within the frame-work of the general policies laid down by the Central Organization, and the Quaid-i-Azam never interfered with their working. He gave them advice only when his advice was sought. Even when cases of breach of party discipline occurred he never took arbitrary action but referred them to competent bodies for suitable action after due inquiry.

To give only a few examples, the decision to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan in June 1946, to withdraw acceptance and prepare for direct action in July 1946, to accept the Pakistan Plan in June 1947 were taken by the League Council and not by the Quaid-i-Azam individually. Similarly, the decisions to advise the Muslims to keep aloof from the Congress movement of August 1942, calculated to force the British Government to surrender to the Congress demands, to refuse to join the Provisional Government under the Wavell Plan in 1945, to enter the Interim Government in October, 1946 were all taken not by the Quaid-i-Azam but by the Working Committee after prolonged deliberations. In particular one may recall how the Quaid-i-Azam refused to be bullied and stampeded by Lord Mountbatten into making a commitment regarding the Partition Plan of 1947 over

the head of the Muslim League Council. The "brilliant, supremely confident" Lord Mountbatten threatened him by saying "Chaos will follow and you will lose your Pakistan for good." The Quaid-i-Azam with a shrug of his shoulders merely said in reply, "What must be must be." He followed the correct constitutional and democratic course by refusing to make any commitment in writing till the Council of the All-India Muslim League had met and considered the matter.

As for the episode of the National Defence Council a fuller explanation is necessary which is given below:

The impression that the Quaid-i-Azam required the Muslim Chief Ministers to resign from the membership of the National Defence Council simply because the invitations had not come through him is not warranted by the facts of the case. The general line of Muslim League policy during the war of 1939-45 was that it could take no part in the prosecution of the war effort without a share in the power and responsibility of the Government. As such the League had decided that none of its members could accept any position in any body or agency concerned with the war effort, unless the League as a body decided upon co-operation.

This policy of the League was very well-known to the Viceroy who till then had held negotiations with the Quaid -i-Azam as President of the Muslim League and not with any individual members of the Muslim League. But in August 1941 without reference to the President of the Muslim League or its Executive, the Viceroy secretly issued invitations to the Muslim Chief Ministers telling them that they were being invited to join the Defence Council in their *ex-officio* capacity and that they must keep it a secret. But the message sent by the Viceroy through the Governor of Bombay to the Quaid-i-Azam after the invitations had been issued stated that the Muslim Chief

Minister had been included in the Defence Council to represent the 'great Muslim Community'.

On receipt of this message the Quaid-i-Azam immediately called a meeting of the Working Committee at which the message was brought to the notice of the Muslim Chief Ministers. They were taken aback and they immediately resigned from the Defence Council in deference to the decision of the Working Committee and not of the Quaid-i-Azam individually, because they were not prepared to serve as representatives of the Muslim Community without the sanction of the Muslim League.

Two other facts may be recalled in this connection. Once in pre-independence days a member proposed at a meeting of the Muslim League Council that the Quaid-i-Azam be elected Life-President of the League. The Quaid-i-Azam emphatically opposed the proposal, asserting that he must come to them every year to seek vote on the basis of his work and service. Again, in Pakistan, a member proposed that the Quaid-i-Azam be exempted from the rule debarring functionaries of the State from holding office in the League. The Quaid-i-Azam opposed the proposal saying there should be no exception to the rule.

In view of these facts anyone can decide for himself whether the Quaid-i-Azam followed the methods of a democrat and a constitutionalist or those of a military commander.

It has been alleged that as Governor-General of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam enjoyed a plenitude of power which no constitutional ruler and few autocrats have possessed and which in practice were not limited by the conventions of constitutional responsibility.

This allegation is based on certain assumptions which are at variance with known facts. The documents which provided the constitutional basis and structure of the

newly-formed state of Pakistan were the Government of India Act of 1935 and the Indian Independence Act of 1947. The latter qualified and supplemented the former and gave powers both to the Governments of India and Pakistan to adapt it for their respective countries. The Independence Act, by a specific provision, took away the power of the Governor-General to act in his individual judgement or discretion with regard to his special responsibilities. The complete responsibility of the Cabinet for the governance of the country with full powers for the discharge of the responsibility was established.

The Quaid-i-Azam declared from the outset that he was constitutional Governor-General. The problems and difficulties during the first few months after the establishment of Pakistan were of such magnitude and complexity that Cabinet Ministers felt themselves to be helpless and looked up to the Quaid with his knowledge, experience and competence to tackle the problems and pull them out of the difficulties. The Quaid made it clear that he, as constitutional Governor-General, could not interfere with Ministerial responsibilities and actions. The Cabinet, therefore, passed a special resolution authorising the Quaid-i-Azam to take action to deal with emergent problems.

It was under the authority of this resolution that the Quaid-i-Azam took certain emergent actions to tackle the problems created by the vacuum caused in the administrative, economic and financial fields by the sudden withdrawal of the Hindus and the influx of the refugees. Even in the exercise of these powers for a few months he invariably consulted the Prime Minister and the Cabinet Ministers. So far as normal administration is concerned, he never interfered; on the contrary he fostered joint consultation and joint responsibility of the Cabinet.

A point of still greater importance in this connection is the Quaid-i-Azam's attitude on the question of the status

of the Constituent Assembly. From the beginning, he unequivocally expressed the view that the Constitutent Assembly, in its capacity as constitution-making body, possessed sovereign status and as such its acts did not require the assent of the Governor-General, even though this involved a limitation of his own authority. An autocrat cannot be guilty of such self-abnegation ! There could be no better evidence of the Quaid-i-Azam's respect for democratic principles and people's sovereignty. It is true that the Quaid-i-Azam enjoyed the confidence and support of the people to such an extent that he could have done anything irrespective of constitutional sanction, but it is on record that never once did he overstep the limits of constitutional propriety.

Quaid-i-Azam was singularly free from all intrigue and subterfuge. But critics take an uncharitable view even of this aspect of his character. It is suggested that he was above intrigue because he was supreme at the top and there was no one to challenge his power. That is a strange view to take. Quaid-i-Azam did not suddenly attain a position and status where he was without a rival. Before he came to be acknowledged as the Quaid-i-Azam he had been actively working in the political field for over thirty years and there were any number of political leaders who could be regarded as his rivals. But it is well-known that never during his long political career did he resort to intrigue. As a matter of fact he never aspired for any office or position in any political organization; he was always prevailed upon to accept an office or position because of his ability and integrity.

An opinion is sometimes heard that the Quaid-i-Azam was a man of 'No compromise'. Illustrative of this opinion is the following observation in the book "The Memoirs of the Aga Khan":—

"In the view of both Mussolini and Jinnah opposition was not an opinion to be conciliated by compromise or

negotiation; it was a challenge to be obliterated by their superior strength and sagacity".

Before we cite instances of definite political actions of the Quaid-i-Azam to show the inaccuracy of this impression, let us examine as to what was his general attitude on the question of compromise. It is well-known that he was an unemotional logician, and reason was his strongest forte. A man possessed of this quality could never be averse to compromise if reason allowed it and if the essence of the matter under negotiation were assured. Compromise on any other terms could be acceptable to an opportunist with scant regard for any cause or ideal but not to a man of character and principle. In a broad-cast speech on I'd day in 1939 which elicited praise even from Mr. Gandhi the Quaid-i-Azam stated his views on the question of compromise. Addressing himself to the youth he recommended them to read John Morley's book on 'Compromise' which, he said, contained a good chapter on the limits of compromise. He observed that the lesson this book teaches regarding the pursuit of truth and the limitations on our actions in practice are worth pondering over. The Quaid-i-Azam clarified his own attitude as follows, "In the pursuit of truth and the cultivation of beliefs we should be guided by our rational interpretation of the Quran, and if our devotion to truth is single-minded, we shall, in our own measure, achieve our goal. In the translation of this truth into practice, however, we shall be content with so much and so much only, as we can achieve without encroaching on the rights of others, while at the same time not ceasing our efforts always to achieve more." These sentiments could only be expressed by a man who had a broad mind, vision and sympathy and who had as much regard for the rights of others as for his own. A man of such sentiments would practise conciliation to the farthest limit in his quest of peace and truth, as the Quaid-i-Azam undoubtedly did.

There are numerous instances of serious efforts made by the Quaid-i-Azam during his long political career to conciliate opposition by reasoning, persuasion and negotiation, for instance the Lucknow Pact of 1916, the Delhi proposals of 1927, the attempt to secure a few modifications in the constitutional scheme embodied in the Nehru Report in 1928, the Fourteen Points, efforts at settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem at the Round Table Conference, negotiations with the Congress President Babu Rajendra Prasad in 1935 and so on. We may, however, take note of two supreme efforts made by the Quaid-e-Azam to seek understanding and conciliation with opposition forces—the Jinnah-Gandhi talks in 1944 and the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission in 1946. Although the Quaid-e-Azam knew well that the Rajagopalachari formula on the basis of which Mr. Gandhi wanted to have talks with him was a parody and a caricature of Pakistan, yet he readily agreed to meet Mr. Gandhi. The position was made difficult by Mr. Gandhi's insistence that he neither represented the Congress nor the Hindus, though the Quaid-i-Azam assumed full responsibility on behalf of the Muslim League and the Mussulmans. But the Quaid-i-Azam's anxiety for an understanding and settlement with a view to accelerating the attainment of freedom for the peoples of the sub-continent was so great that he held prolonged discussions with Mr. Gandhi for no less than three weeks. A perusal of the correspondence which passed between the two leaders embodying the trend of their talks would show as to how hard the Quaid-i-Azam strove to convince Mr. Gandhi of the depth and genuineness of the Muslim sentiment and claim of being a nation and of the logical consequence of this claim, namely an independent state comprising the contiguous areas of Muslim majority, with a voluntary treaty of alliance and friendship with the rest of India as between two sovereign states. The negotiations broke down

because of Mr. Gandhi's obstinate refusal to recognise the Muslim claim to nationhood and insistence on a district-to-district plebiscite to determine whether Muslim areas wanted to separate and the imposition of a central authority to control the most important subjects which meant complete negation of the very idea of a free and independent state of the Muslim areas.

The conciliatory role played by the Quaid-i-Azam in the tripartite negotiations on the future constitution of the sub-continent in 1946 elicited admiration even from unfriendly circles both in India and Britain. His stand on Pakistan was unambiguous—it was a claim for an independent, sovereign state of the Muslim majority areas. When the Cabinet Mission invited him to consider their scheme of a three-tier constitution conceding the substance of power to the Groups of Muslim provinces with a strictly limited centre controlling only three subjects, with an important stipulation regarding the safeguarding of Muslim rights at the Centre and with the implied right of the Groups of provinces to opt out of the Indian Union after ten years, the Quaid-i-Azam did not adopt a truculent attitude. After obtaining full clarification of the provisions of the scheme especially regarding the grouping of provinces which conceded the substance of the Pakistan demand, the Quaid-i-Azam brought the Muslim League Council to accept it. It was an act of 'statesmanship and courage' for which tribute was paid to the Quaid-i-Azam by even Lord Pethick-Lawrence, leader of the Cabinet Mission, whose leanings and sympathies for the Congress were undisguised. This was the last chance for the preservation of some kind of organic link between the Hindu areas and the Muslim areas of the sub-continent. It was, however, not to the liking of the Hindu Congress because it was a link which would not have permitted them to dominate the Muslim areas. Baulked in their attempt to secure Hindu domination over the entire sub-continent somehow or the other, the

Congress sabotaged the Cabinet Mission's scheme by putting wrong interpretations on the provisions for the grouping of provinces as admitted by the Mission, and turning down every proposal for an interim government which provided for effective representation of the Muslims during the transition period. The correctness of the Quaid-i-Azam's stand on the grouping of provinces was upheld by the British Government in their statement of 6 December 1946 and is recognised ever by a staunch Congress leader like Maulana Azad in his posthumous work India wins freedom. The world was convinced that the charge of 'no compromise' lay at the door of the Hindu Congress and not that of the Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim League. The Quaid-i-Azam's conciliatory attitude did not go in vain. Within a year of the failure of the Cabinet Mission's Scheme the Congress which would not accept a compromise solution had to agree to a fullblooded, independent, sovereign Pakistan.

There is another impression that the Quaid-i-Azam had no clear notion of the goal of his struggle right till its final phase. This view is expressed in the following paragraph in the same book from which an extract has been quoted before:—

'I myself am convinced that even as late as 1946 Jinnah had no clear and final idea of his goal, no awareness that he would within a twelve-month, be the founder of a new nation, a Muslim Great Power such as the world has not seen for centuries. Neither he nor anyone else could have imagined that fate was to put so magnificent, so incredible an opportunity into his hands as that which occurred in the crucial phases of the negotiations with the British Cabinet Mission, and gave him the initiative when Lord Mountbatten arrived'.

The argument seems to be that Pakistan is not the result of a conscious movement and a deliberate effort directed towards a definite end but the chance product of

the utilization of a lucky opportunity by a shrewd strategist. Facts of the struggle for Pakistan during the most crucial period, 1940-47, which are within the memory of millions of living men and women who took part in the struggle, do not lend support to the view that the Quaid-i-Azam was working without awareness of his final goal. On innumerable occasions since the adoption of the Pakistan resolution he affirmed and reaffimed, in as clear and unequivocal a language as it was humanly possible to do, two definite propositions (1) the Muslims of the sub-continent are a nation by themselves (2) their goal is the establishment of a completely independent sovereign state comprising the regions of Muslim majority. In fact, it was because the Congress leaders were unwilling to accept these propositions in principle that the Quaid-e-Azam's negotiations with them on every occasion broke down. In the course of his talks with Mr. Gandhi in 1944 the Quaid-i-Azam made the position clear beyond a shadow of doubt by asserting in one of his letters, "Can you not appreciate our point of view that we claim the right of self-determination as a nation and not as a territorial unit and that we are entitled to exercise our inherent right as a Muslim nation which is our birth-right? Whereas you are labouring under the wrong idea that self-determination means only that of a territorial unit which by the way is neither demarcated nor defined yet, and there is no Union or Federal Constitution of India in being, functioning as a Sovereign Central Government. Ours is a case of division and carving out two independent, sovereign states by way of settlement between two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, and not of severance or secession from any existing union which is non-existent in India. The right of self-determination which we claim postulates that we are a nation, and as such it should be the self-determination of the Mussulmans and they alone are entitled to exercise that right".

In 1945 the Quaid-i-Azam in an interview to a foreign press correspondent gave a graphic picture of Pakistan as he visualised it—geographically Pakistan would comprise two blocks of territory in the North-Western and North-Eastern regions of the sub-continent being areas of Muslim majority; politically it would be a democracy; economically Pakistan with its two separate zones would be as sound an undertaking as if it were a country with all of its states in one block, the key industries and public utilities to be controlled and managed by the State; ideologically it would be a Muslim State, the Mussulmans being a people who believe in and act on the basic principle of equality of manhood and fraternity.

Commenting on the Viceroy's address to the Central Legislative Assembly on 28th January, 1946 wherein he spoke of this intention to form an interim Government at the Centre the Quaid-i-Azam declared, "Muslim India has made it clear beyond any doubt that the only solution of India's political problem is the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, and it is our grim resolve and determination to set up a free Muslim state in the Muslim majority zones in the North West and East parts of India". The position was restated beyond a shadow of doubt in the resolution passed at the All-India Convention of the Muslim legislators from all provinces in April, 1946 which declared that the Muslim nation would never submit to any constitution for a United India and demanded that Bengal and Assam in the North-East and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West be constituted into a sovereign independent state, and further two separate constitution-making bodies be set up by peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions, the acceptance and implementation of the Pakistan demand being the *sine qua non* for the Muslim League participation in

any interim government. The Muslim League Council's resolution on the Cabinet Mission Plan in June 1946 again was a very clear enunciation of the Pakistan demand. It stated *inter alia* that 'the Muslim League, having regard to the grave issues involved, and prompted by its earnest desire for a peaceful solution, if possible, of the Indian constitutional problem and in-as-much as the basis and the foundation of Pakistan are inherent in the Mission's Plan, by virtue of the compulsory grouping of the Six Muslim Provinces in Sections B and C, is willing to cooperate with the constitution-making machinery proposed in the scheme outlined by the Mission, in the hope that it would ultimately result in the establishment of complete sovereign Pakistan and in the consummation of the goal of independence for the major nations, Muslims and Hindus, and all the other people inhabiting this vast sub-continent .... The League will keep in view the opportunity and the right of secession of provinces or groups from the Union which have been provided in the Mission's plan by implication". A few weeks later the Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the Plan because the Congress by its reservations and mis-interpretations had nullified the scheme of the grouping of provinces as was admitted by the Cabinet Mission and later by the British Government. The League reaffirmed the resolve of the Muslims of India to secure the immediate establishment of independent and fully sovereign state of Pakistan and decided to direct its Working Committee to prepare forthwith a programme of Direct Action to achieve Pakistan and 'to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future caste-Hindu domination.' Actually the Muslims observed with great enthusiasm and solemnity a Direct Action Day on 15th August 1946 throughout India and Direct Action would certainly have been launched if in the meantime the British Government had not revised their policy of ignoring and by-passing Muslim India.

The foregoing excerpts from the speeches and statements of the Quaid-i-Azam and the resolutions of the Muslim League should be sufficient to show that there never was any doubt or ambiguity in his mind as to the ultimate goal of the movement he was leading. After rejection of the Cabinet Mission Plan he took an unequivocal and determined stand on the establishment of a completely separate and sovereign state and under his advice 75 out of 79 Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly kept away from its meetings. This move coupled with the Muslims' readiness to undergo every suffering and sacrifice at a signal from the Quaid-i-Azam forced the British Government and the Congress to agree to partition of the sub-continent and creation of two separate sovereign states. Such a consummation could be brought about only by a determined leadership having a clear vision of the goal it was fighting for and depending not on chance developments but conscious and deliberate efforts and a planned programme of action.

From the uncomplimentary and unfair references with which we have dealt let us, for a change, turn to the remarks made by an Englishman noted for his profound knowledge of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. Speaking at the meeting held in memory of the Quaid-i-Azam in London on 8th January 1959 Sir Olaf Caroe, formerly Governor of N.W.F. Province from 1946 to 1947, observed, "Jinnah was much more than a politician. Perhaps that is why politicians do not all speak well of him. In Muslim terms he was almost a Mujaddid, one of those performers sent once in a century, as the pious believe, to reinterpret the faith and guide the believer on the true path. That outwardly he looked a little like an Englishman may be to us here not a derogation but a challenge. The chief impression that remains is one of integrity and singleness of purpose. An undoubted outward pride of demeanour was in reality the expression of a sort of inner uprightness that would not

suffer the second-rate or compromise with subtlety or devious tactics in any shape or form. It was the undeviating pursuit of what was to him the right and not merely the political end that led to Jinnah's remarkable success". Perhaps there is no truer summing up of the character and historic role of the Quaid-i-Azam by any other foreign observer.

FOURTEEN POINTS
AS THE GENESIS OF PAKISTAN

Before the idea of Pakistan caught the imagination of the Muslims of the Sub-Continent their attention was concentrated on the Fourteen Points formulated by Mr. Jinnah in 1929 after all efforts to bring about a Hindu-Muslim agreement on the question of the future constitution of India had failed. Some are apt to think that Pakistan was an entirely new concept unrelated to the previous political thought and activity of the Muslims of the sub-continent. This is a superficial view unwarranted by the facts of the historical development. The Muslim freedom struggle had its own objective and course and like other movements it went through a process of evolution. For several decades Muslim thinkers and political leaders cherished the hope that it would be possible to reach some understanding and devise some scheme which would enable the Muslims to preserve their social and cultural identity and protect their interests consistently with the freedom and independence of the sub-continent as a broad-based political unit. Not one but several attempts were made to bring about this consummation. The Fourteen Points formulated by Mr. Jinnah constituted the most earnest effort on the part of the Muslims to achieve the central objective of their freedom urge in collaboration with other elements of the Indian body-politic, namely full opportunities for development as a distinct social and cultural entity in accordance with their genius and traditions and without prejudice to the right of other communities to have similar opportunities. The final failure of all such attempts inevitably led the Muslims to think in terms of separate political existence. As I shall presently show there was

really no inconsistency between the stands that the Muslims took before and after the adoption of Pakistan as a definite political goal. The difference related only to means and methods, the nature of the objective remaining the same. The declaration of Pakistan as the Muslims' political creed was only a logical culmination of the evolutionary process of Muslim political thought.

A short study of the origin of the Fourteen Points may help us trace the link between the underlying idea of these Points and the idea of Pakistan. At three successive annual sessions in the years 1924, 1925 and 1926 the All-India Muslim League defined the Muslim position *vis-a-vis* constitutional development in India as follows : a sound and permanent basis should be devised for the Indian Constitution providing for automatic progress towards establishment of full responsible government and guaranteeing the following basic and fundamental principles, namely (1) all legislatures and other elected bodies should be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to equality, (2) representation of the communal groups should continue to be by means of separate electorates, as it then was, provided that it would be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate, (3) any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F.P. (4) full religious liberty *i.e.* liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities, (5) no bill or resolution or any part thereof should be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such bill or resolution on the ground that it would

be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative such other method be devised as might be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

These proposals met with much opposition in Hindu political circles which insisted that, though Muslims may have safeguards for their rights and interests, yet they must accept joint electorates. In an earnest effort to meet the view-point of the Hindu leaders prominent Muslim representatives of different shades of opinion met in Delhi on 20 March 1927 at Mr. Jinnah's invitation and under his presidentship and gave serious thought to the question. After long deliberation they came to certain conclusions which may be summarised as follows. (1) Sind should be separated from the Bombay presidency and constituted into a separate province. (2) Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in any other province in India. (3) In the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of representation should be in accordance with population. (4) In the Central Legislature Muslim representation should not be less than one-third. (5) If these proposals are agreed to Muslims would be prepared to accept a joint electorate in all provinces so constituted and would be willing to make Hindu minorities in Sind, Baluchistan and N.W.F.P. the same concesssions as Hindu majorities in other provinces were prepared to make to Muslim minorities.

The All-India Congress Committee at its meeting at Bombay in May 1927 substantially accepted these proposals which were later adopted by the open session of the Indian National Congress at Madras in December 1927. The proposals were reaffirmed by the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Calcutta in December 1927 which also authorised its Council to appoint a sub-committee to cnofer with the Working Committee of the Congress and other organizations for the purpose of drafting a constitution

for India in which the interests of the Mussulmans would be safeguarded, having regard to the proposals put forward by the League. The League Session adopted another important proposal, namely the future constitution of India should guarantee liberty of conscience, and no legislature should have power to interfere with liberty of conscience which was defined to mean liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observance and association and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others; further no bill, resolution, motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters should be moved, discussed or passed in any legislature if a three-fourths majority of the members of the community affected thereby in that legislature opposed the introduction, discussion or passing of such bill, resolution, motion or amendment. "Inter communal matters" were defined as matters agreed upon as such by the joint standing committee of the Hindu and Muslim members of the Legislatures concerned appointed at the commencement of every session of the Legislature.

An All-Parties Conference was summoned at Delhi on 11th February 1928 with a view to drawing up an agreed constitution. The Conference continued its deliberations till 11th March 1928 but no agreement could be carried at. Thereupon, the Council of the All-India Muslim League passed a resolution declaring that the proposals adopted at the All-Parties Conference were not in conformity with the resolution of the Muslim League passed at its Calcutta Session in 1927 and appointing a Committee for the purpose of conferring with representatives of other organizations with instructions to report the final result to the League Council. After this the Muslim League was not represented by any authorised representatives at the All-Parties Conference, for a fundamental difference had arisen owing to

the Congress having receded from the position it had originally taken.

The so-called All-Parties Conference next met in May 1928 at Bombay in the absence of Muslim League representatives. It could no longer claim the status of an All-Parties Conference, for it was confined to non-Muslim organizations like the Congress, the Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation. It changed the whole basis of the *rapprochement* as embodied in the resolutions of the Congress at Madras in 1927 and the Muslim League at Calcutta in the same year. Adopting an entirely different course the so-called All-Parties Conference appointed a small committee under the presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru with terms of reference to which the All-India Muslim League was not a party. This Committee's report, popularly known as Nehru Report, was considered at Lucknow in August 1928 by the so-called All-Parties Conference without the Muslim League being represented at it, although it was one of the principal parties which had initiated the move by sponsoring the Delhi Muslim proposals of 1927. This Conference, however, passed resolutions in regard to communal adjustments and other matters in the absence of any representative of Muslim leaders.

The principles of the communal settlement embodied in the Nehru Report ran counter to those on which Muslim opinion had till then expressed willingness to come to an agreement. The Delhi Muslim proposals were virtually rejected. The utmost that the Nehru Report conceded was reservation of seats for Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces on population basis under the system of joint electorate. Muslim India was stirred and a great controversy raged over the proposals of the Nehru Report. The All-India Muslim League, however, acted with restraint and did not express any opinion till its annual session at Calcutta in December 1928. It decided to send a delegation to the All-Parties

Conference meeting in the same month in Calcutta with instructions to secure certain important modifications in the scheme of communal settlement suggested by the Nehru Report. On behalf of the Delegation Mr. Jinnah in a closely reasoned speech eloquently pleaded for acceptance of some proposals designed to protect the rights and interests of the Muslims. These proposals, briefly, were as follows: (1) one-third of elected representatives in the Central Legislature to be Muslims (2) reservation of seats for Muslims on population basis in the Panjab and Bengal for 10 years in the event of adult suffrage not being established, subject to re-examination of the position after that period (3) form of the constitution to be federal with residuary powers vested in the provinces (4) division of subjects between the centre and the provinces to be revised (5) separation of Sind from Bombay not to be dependent on the establishment of government under the constitution envisaged in the Nehru Report. These proposals, however, were summarily and unceremoniously rejected by the All-Parties Conference. This attitude on the part of the non-Muslim organizations dominating the Conference sent a wave of disappointment and indignation throughout Muslim India. There was no appreciation whatever of the great sacrifice the Muslims were making in agreeing to surrender the valuable right of separate electorate on certain conditions.

This stubborn and unaccommodating attitude on the part of the Congress and the Hindu leaders proved to be the turning point in the Indian political history. The man who had made Hindu-Muslim *rapprochement* his life mission, who had brought about the Lucknow Pact of 1916, who had been hailed by Mr. Gokhale and Mrs. Naidu as the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity returned from the All-Parties Conference a sad and disillusioned man and reported his failure to the All-India Muslim League. The League adjourned its session and instructed its Council to re-convene the adjourned session by May 1929 to consider the matter

further. The Session was accordingly convened in Delhi. Before proceedings could start in the regular manner an abortive attempt was made by some henchmen of the Congress to capture the dais of the hall and get a resolution passed in favour of acceptance of the Nehru Report. On arrival at the hall Mr. Jinnah as President of the League severely reprimanded those members who had created rowdyism and, in view of the disturbed situation, declared the session adjourned indefinitely.

After long and careful consideration of all the issues involved Mr. Jinnah at this stage propounded his famous 'Fourteen Points embodying the considered views of all sections of Muslim political opinion regarding the future constitution of India and the position of Muslims therein. They are repoduced below:

(1) The form of the constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the provinces, the Central Government to have control only of such matters of common interest as may be guaranteed by the Constitution.

(2) Uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.

(3) All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies should be reconstituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even-equality.

(4) In the Central Legislature Muslim representation should not be less than one-third.

(5) The representation of communal groups should continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided it should be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

(6) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim

majority in the Panjab, Bengal and North West Frontier Province.

(7) Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities.

(8) No bill or resolution or any part thereof should be passed in any legislature or any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

(9) Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

(10) Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

(11) Provision should be made in the constitution giving the Muslims an adequate share along with other Indians in all the services of the State and in self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

(12) The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal law and the promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws, Muslim charitable institutions, and for their due share in grants-in-aid given by the State and by self-governing bodies.

(13) No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim Ministers of at least one-third.

(14) No change to be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

These Points reveal Mr. Jinnah's brilliant political acumen. They constitute a classic example of masterly grasp of the political realities existing in the sub-continent as it then was and an ability to devise effective political safeguards for a community without encroaching on the just rights and claims of other communities. There has never been a clearer analysis and more lucid statement of the Muslim position. A close study of these Points will show that they contained the germs of the eventual evolution of Pakistan in one form or the other. Firstly, these proposals definitely postulated recognition of Muslims as a distinct social and cultural entity, whereupon they would be willing to cooperate in a scheme of common government for the whole of India. Secondly, political power and opportunities for development had to be fairly distributed between Hindus and Muslims; while Hindus would be in majority in seven provinces, Muslims would have similar position in five provinces, thus creating a balance of power and preventing the domination of one over the other. Thirdly, the Muslims as the less numerous and economically weaker community could at least develop their life according to their genius and traditions in the Muslim majority provinces. Fourthly, due importance was given to provincial autonomy, the Centre confining itself to subjects of common concern. The position of provinces was further safeguarded by the provision that no constitutional change could take place without their consent. Finally, and this was the most important point, residuary powers were to vest in the provinces. According to the canons of political science, residuary powers imply the right of a constituent state, in the case of extreme repression by the Centre, to secede from the Federation. The Hindu leaders understood this implication; that is why they always opposed the federal form of government and the proposal to vest the residuary powers in the provinces. Herein lay the germ of the idea of Pakistan. For over ten years the Fourteen Points remained the pivot round

which the whole Muslim political thought and activity revolved, till a point was reached, thanks to the intransigence of Hindu leaders, when it became clear that any scheme of common government was an impossibility and the Muslims' destiny lay in the establishment of an independent, sovereign state in the regions of their majority. It speaks volumes for the political sagacity of Quaid-i-Azam that be brought about the transition from Fourteen Points to Pakistan in such a logical manner that the whole onus of responsibility for failure to evolve a single political structure for the whole sub-continent lay with Hindu leaders and the Muslims achieved their goal of freedom.

QUAID-I-AZAM'S VISION OF PAKISTAN

Time and again we are reminded that the best tribute and homage we can pay to Quaid-i-Azam's memory is to build Pakistan into the great and glorious state of his dream. The sentiment is noble and laudable. But its translation into actual practice demands a clear grasp of the essentials of the picture of Pakistan which the Quaid-i-Azam had in mind.

In modern times when territorial nationalism is the order of the day and material and economic considerations almost wholly shape many people's outlook and policies the making of Pakistan stands out as the triumph of an ethical concept and a cultural ideal. It is best to seek the basis of the genesis of Pakistan in Quaid-i-Azam's own words. In the course of a speech at a public meeting at Chittagong on 26th March, 1948 he said :

> "We demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it, so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture, and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in this sub-continent. We aspired for these great ideals because of centuries of dual domination by the foreign rulers and by a caste-ridden social system."

Again in the same speech he said :

> "I reiterate most emphatically that Pakistan was made possible because of the danger of complete annihilation

of human soul in a society based on caste. Now that the soul is free to exist and to aspire it must assert itself galvanising not only the State but also the Nation".

So it is clear that the basic force which motivated the Pakistan movement was spiritual in character and ethical in content. The point has to be carefully borne in mind, for the whole outlook and effort for the raising of the edifice of Pakistan has to be different from the lines on which people ordinarily pursue the task of state-building. If, God forbid, we once forget this fundamental notion we lose our grip on the force that sustains our free national existence. The Quaid-i-Azam was a man of destiny. He did not swim with the current of events. He created his own circumstances and diverted the course of history, so that the idea which had its roots in truth and justice may materialise.

It is not necessary to go into the story of how the Quaid-i-Azam waged a life-long struggle to forge a just Hindu-Muslim understanding and rapprochment and to secure Indian freedom in the shape of a single democratic state which would accommodate all communities and nationalities, and how his genuine efforts foundered on the rock of intransigence and inordinate lust of power and domination of the majority. The facts are well-known. When he reorganized the Muslim League in 1937 as a mass organization he still hoped that it might be possible to come to a reasonable arrangement under which the different communities might live and progress harmoniously. The accession of Congress to power in many of the provinces wrecked all chances of a just settlement. The way the Congress set about monopolising all power and using it to the detriment of the Muslims and other minorities convinced the Quaid-i-Azam that nothing short of a drastic break-away from the old moorings of political thought and action would save the Muslims from annihilation. The first glimmerings of the idea of Pakistan as the

final solution of the Indian problem may be discerned in an article contributed by the Quaid-i-Azam to the 'Time and Tide' of London on 19th January, 1940. After analysing the maladies from which the body-politic of India suffered he laid down two propositions—

(1) "The British people must realise that unqualified western democracy is totally unsuited for India and attempts to impose it must cease;

(2) In India it must be accepted that party Government is not suitable and all Governments, Central or Provincial, must be governments that represent all sections of the people".

Concluding the article he observed,

"A constitution must be evolved that recognises that there are in India two Nations who both must share the governance of their common motherland".

This was a very realistic appreciation of the situation in India. The Quaid-i-Azam's observations still left room for a reasonable compromise. But power evidently made the Congress deaf to all pleadings of reason.

The Muslims were rapidly undergoing a political metamorphosis. A couple of months later the Qauid-e-Azam, correctly interpreting the Muslim mind and feeling at the Lahore session of the All-India Muslim League, declared, "Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in the way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people." Getting down to the root of the matter with his penetrating

insight, the Quaid-i-Azam in the same speech pointed out:

> "The problem in India is not of an intercommunal character but manifestly of an international one and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Mussulmans but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into autonomous national states."

If the Quaid-i-Azam's advice had been heeded in time much of the bitterness and suffering which resulted from Congress truculence would have been saved. But that was not to be, and innocent humanity had to pay for the obduracy of the self-righteous, chauvinistic Congress politicians. Till the last moment the Congress leaders kept on denying the Muslims' right to separate nationhood which was the real basis of their demand for a separate independent state. Nationalism is a subjective feeling. If a large group of people feel that they are a nation no further proof is needed to admit their title to nationhood. The Congress could not see this self-evident truth.

At last partition came; it had to come for the two-nation fact could not be denied. The Congress assent to the partition scheme implied that they accepted, however unwillingly, the two-nation basis. It is too late in the day for the Congress leaders to pretend that they never accepted what they are pleased to call the "two-nation theory". The specious argument that if India had been divided on the basis of Hindus and Muslims being treated as two different nations there would be no room for minorities in the two states is manifestly wrong. There are any number of

examples of states containing minorities which originally belonged to another nation. They remain in those states, and once they have declared their loyalty to the state they are accepted as full citizens sharing all the rights and obligations of citizenship. It was of the essence both of the Pakistan scheme propounded by the Quaid-i-Azam and the partition plan sponsored by the British Government that minorities automatically acquire the nationality of the state in which their lot happens to be cast, and their loyalty is to be presumed unless the contrary is proved. Pakistan has been following this line and has not treated its minorities as scape-goats or hostages to gain any political or diplomatic ends. This is an essential feature of the policy laid down by the Quaid-i-Azam.

How did Quaid-i-Azam visualise Pakistan before it came into existence? There are one or two essential features of his whole political outlook and approach which must be kept in view. Quaid-i-Azam had grown up with a thoroughly democratic temper and outlook and a genuine concern for the under-privileged and the unfortunately-placed. Addressing the Delhi session of the All-India Muslim League on 24th April, 1943, the Quaid-i-Azam said, "Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lessons of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate the interests of others to fatten themselves...Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If that is the idea of Pakistan I would not have it. If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new conditions of life. If they don't God help them; we shall not help them". There could be no clearer evidence of the Quaid-i-Azam's deep

solicitude for the poor and positive approach to the problem of poverty and misery. On another occasion in the course of a talk to Muslim League workers at Calcutta on 1st March 1946 the Quaid-i-Azam said, "I am an old man. God has given me enough to live comfortably at this age. Why should I turn my blood into water, run about and take so much trouble. Not for the capitalists surely, but for you, the poor people. In 1936 I saw the abject poverty of the people (in Bengal). Some of them did not get food even once a day. I have not seen them recently, but my heart goes out to them. I feel it and, in Pakistan, we will do all in our power to see that everybody can get a decent living" So he envisaged Pakistan as the poor man's state. The object of Pakistan is not to enable the rich to become richer but to ensure an equitable distribution of wealth and resources, so that everyone could live a contented and happy life and have equal opportunity of advancement. To attain this objective the Quaid-i-Azam was clearly of the view that the Government in Pakistan would be a 'people's Government'. As far back as 8th November, 1945, he gave a very lucid exposition of the salient features of the pattern of Pakistan that he had in mind to a representative of Associated Press of America. He observed that "Politically, Pakistan would be a democracy." Referring to the character of Pakistan he declared, "This would be a Muslim State. As far as the Mussulmans are concerned there would be no social barriers of any kind against the Hindus or any one else. The Musslmans are a people who believe in and act on the basic principle of equality of manhood and fraternity" Here is a complete vindication of the true Islamic spirit which Pakistan is intended to reflect. It is an effective refutation of the charge of theocracy—Government by ordained priests—which the opponents of Pakistan are wont to lay at its door.

In the same statement the Quaid-i-Azam was still more explicit in elucidating the economic structure of Pakistan.

While not presuming to interpret that the Government of Pakistan would do he personally hoped that 'its major industrial and public utility services would be socialised.' He further expressed the belief that "in these modern days essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the state. That applies also to certain public utilities. But what is a key industry and what is a utility service are matters for the law-makers to say, not for me." A most sensible view to take! Obviously it is not possible for anyone in advance to lay down any hard and fast rule regarding key industry and utility service. It must depend on the pace and nature of material advancement of a society at a given state. But the spirit in which the economy of the state should be controlled and managed by the State as defined by the Quaid-i-Azam is unexceptionable.

It was Quaid-i-Azam's conviction that the acid test of the success of a civillsed Government was the treatment it meted out to minorities. He had a very tender regard for them and he demonstrated it in his own life-time. He declared, "No civilized Government can be run successfully without giving the minorities a complete sense of security and confidence. They must be made to feel that they have a hand in Government and to do this they must have adequate representation in it. Pakistan will give this". He was strongly opposed to all idea of retaliation or reprisals against innocent people. In the course of his speech at a public meeting at Lahore on 3oth October, 1947 he exhorted his followers thus:

> "Remember that the scrupulous maintenance and enforcement of law and order are the pre-requisites of all progress. The tenets of Islam enjoin on every Mussulman to give protection to his neighbours and to the minorities regardless of caste and creed. Despite the treatment which is being meted out to the Muslim minorities in India, we must make it a matter

of our prestige and honour to safeguard the lives of the minority communities and to create a sense of security among them. I would like to impress upon every Mussulman, who has at heart the welfare and the prosperity of Pakistan, to avoid retaliation and to exercise restraint, because retaliation and violation of law and order will ultimately result in weakening the very foundations of the edifice you have cherished all these years to erect."

He correctly interpreted the meaning and significance of Muslim unity and brotherhood which is no barrier to happy relationship and cordial and fruitful coorperation between the Muslims and people of other faiths living as citizens of Pakistan. He declared, "We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammed (may peace be on him). We are member of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. Consequently we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy or any thing like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in close association with us all those who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan". (Broadcast talk to the people of Australia, 19th February, 1948).

One of the distressing features of the developments after the establishment of Pakistan was the rise of feelings of provincialism and sectionalism. The Quaid-i-Azam was deeply concerned about it and considered it the negation of the very principle on which Pakistan was claimed and achieved. Speaking at a mammoth public gathering at Dacca on 21st March, 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam warned the Muslims against the dangers of provincialism and stressed the need of welding themselves into a unified nation. He said, "Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned

their attention to disrupt the state by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan. These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism, As long as you do not throw off this poison in our body-politic you will never be able to weld yourself, mould yourself, galvanise yourself into a true nation. What we want is not to talk about Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pathan and so on. They are, of course, units. But I ask you, have you forgotten the lesson that was taught to us thirteen hundred years ago?...Islam has taught us this, and I think you will agree with me that whatever else you may be and whatever you are, you are a Muslim. You belong to a nation now; you have now carved out a territory, vast territory, it is all yours; it does not belong to a Punjabi, or a Sindhi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali, it is yours". Agian he said, "Now I ask you to get rid of this provincialism, because as long as you allow this poison to remain in the bodypolitic of Pakistan believe me you will never be a strong nation and you will never be able to achieve what I wish we could achieve." Pakistan was claimed and achieved in the name of a hundred million Muslims on the definite and positive plea that the hundred million Muslims of the sub.continent (and not Bengalis, Sindhis, Punjabis etc.) were a separate nation. The spirit of this nationhood provided the lever and the force for the creation and sustenance of Pakistan. The moment this spirit, God forbid, goes, Pakistan as Pakistan will not be able to exist and flourish. There is yet time to heed the advice of Quaid-i-Azam and act on it.

The Quaid-i-Azam had a complete concept of how things should shape themselves in Pakistan in order that it may develop into a truly Muslim democracy. His own life is the highest example of rectitude and right conduct which all of us can follow. But in his speeches he laid down positive principles to guide the conduct both of officials and the public. He had a very subtle but clear conception of

the delicate balance of relatonship between the Government and people of a free state. This is what he said "On this great dayt" 14th August, 1947) it was not merely a Government which came into existence, it meant the birth of a great State and a great Nation—one supplementing the other and both existing for each other. I can understand and appreciate the limitation of those amongst us whose minds have not moved fast enough to realise that 14th of August ushered in such a state and such a nation. It is natural for some to think only in terms of Government but the sooner we adjust ourselves to new forces, the sooner our mind's eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of our state and our nation, the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realise the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity which, on the one hand, constitute the basic causes of the brith of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our state" (Speech at a public meeting at Chittagong, 26th March, 1948).

The Quaid-i-Azam was emphatic about the need for change of outlook among officers and Government servants in the changed atmosphere of national freedom. In an informal talk to civil officers at Peshawar on 14th April, 1948, he observed, "Everybody should realise that there is a fundamental and vital change of the entire Government and the constitution under which we are working. You should try to create an atmosphere and work in such a spirit that everybody gets a fair deal, and justice is done to everybody. And not merely should justice be done but people should feel that justice has been done to them." In every democratic state where elections bring about change of Government the relationship between the Ministries in power and the permanent officials and members of the Government machinery present a ticklish problem. The Quaid-i-Azam laid down

a correct code of conduct for the officers and Government servants. In the course of an address to the Gazetted Officers at Chittagong on 25th March, 1948 he remarked that "they as members of the permanent services were not concerned with this political party or that. Governments and ministers came and went, but the Government servants stayed on. Theirs was a great responsibility. Whichever Government was formed according to the constitution and whoever became Prime Minister or Minister their duty was to serve that Government loyally and faithfully and at the same time fearlessly maintain their high reputation, their prestige, their honour, and the integrity of their service. It was none of their business to have a hand in supporting this political party or that political party." He wanted them to act as true servants of the people even at the the risk of any Minister trying to interfere with them in the discharge of their duties as civil servants and even if they had to suffer he expected them to do so readily. He, of course, assured them that they would have security and safeguards.

But the more important advice which the Quaid-i-Azam gave to Government servants was with regard to their dealings with the public. In the course of his address to the Officers at Chittagong on 25th March, 1948, he said, "The second point is your conduct and dealings with the people in the various Departments in which you may be; wipe off that past reputation. Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends; maintain the highest standards of honour, integrity, justice and fairplay............................... As administrators they (the old officials) did do justice in many cases but they (the people) did not feel that justice was done to them because there was an order of superiority and they were held at a distance and they did not feel the warmth, but they felt a freezing atmosphere when they had anythig to do with the officials. Now that freezing atmosphere must go; that impression of arrogance must go, that

impression that you are rulers must go; and you must do your best with all courtesy and kindness and try to understand the people."

The important point that the Quaid-i-Azam wished to stress was that the old lines of cleavage which divided officials from the public should cease to exist and both should consider themselves complementry parts of the same machinery. To the officials his advice was to see that not only justice was done but people were made to feel that justice was done, and the freezing atmosphere must go, and a human element introduced into the dealings of the officials with the public. If the principles of conduct laid down by the Quaid-i-Azam both for the officials and the people were widely followed Pakistan's progress towards the goal of an ideal Islamic state would, indeed, be rapid.

The Quaid-i-Azam knew that the strongest motive which moved the Muslims to put forward the demand for Pakistan was the desire to have a state with its constitution based on Islamic principles, for this alone would enable them to mould their lives according to the teachings of Islam and demonstrate to the world that the way to peace, harmony and happiness was the Islamic way of life. Like a true Muslim the Quaid-i-Azam had a firm belief that Islam was not a mere religion in the narrow sense of the term—a matter of elationship between the individual and his God—but a complete philosophy and system embracing every aspect of life. He beautifully summed up the concept of Islam in his Id message to the Muslims of India in 1945. Said he, "Everyone, except those who are ignorant, knows that the Quran is the general code of the Muslims. A religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal, penal code, it regulates everything from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life; from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body; from the rights of all to those of each individual; from morality to crime; from punishment

here to that in the life to come; and our Prophet has enjoined on us that every Mussulman should possess a copy of the Quran and be his own priest. Therefore, Islam is not merely confined to the spiritual tenets and doctrines of rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society, every department of life, collectively and individually". There could not be a clearer grasp of the essentials of the Islamic faith.

The Quaid-i-Azam did not believe in dictating to any body or authority with regard to the performance of the task with which they were charged. He could only express his view of the basic spirit and principle which, in his judgement, should inform the future constitution of Pakistan. In his broadcast talk to the people of the United States of America in February, 1948, he observed, "The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state—to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Parsis—but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan".

That the Quaid-i-Azam envisaged Pakistan as a welfare State in the right Islamic spirit is beyond a shadow of doubt. Addressing the Constituent Assembly on 11th August,

1947 he said, "Now, if we want to make this great state of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in cooperation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed." Again and again he expressed the belief that Pakistan would function in the Islamic spirit of equality, brotherhood and social justice. In his speech at the public meeting at Chittagong on 26th March, 1948, he remarked in reply to the welcome address that, "You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millons of Mussulmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasise equality and brotherhood of man. Similarly you are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for equal opportunities for all. These targets of progress are not controversial in Pakistan.........." The Quaid-i-Azam thus left no doubt as to the basic spirit and principles according to which the constitutional structure of Pakistan was to be built and its government was to function. He clearly visualised a state and a Government which would apply the broad ethical principles of Islam to the polity, society, economy and state-craft of Pakistan in a catholic spirit, so that an ideal society functioning on a moral plane and an era of peace, harmony, progress and happiness may be ushered in.

There are a few other important points which the Quaid-i-Azam wanted prominently to be kept in view. No one had a keener awareness than the Quaid-i-Azam of the tremendous sacrifices made by the Muslims of the minority provinces, now constituting India, and the terrible sufferings they were made to undergo and are still undergoing for the the support they extended to the Pakistan ideal. In his I'd message to the Nation on 18th August, 1947, he said, "Let us not on this occasion forget those of

Islamic Socialism

our brethren and sisters who have sacrificed their all, so that Pakistan may be established and we may live. We fervently pray that their souls may rest in peace and we shall never forget the memory of those who are no more and those who have suffered. For many, I'd will not be an occasion of such great joy and rejoicing as in Pakistan. Those of our brethren who are minorities in Hindustan may rest assured that we shall never neglect or forget them. Our hearts go out to them, and we shall consider no effort too great to help them and secure their well-being, for I recognise that it is the Muslim minority provinces in this sub-continent who were the pioneers and carried the banner aloft for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan. I shall never forget their support nor I hope the majority Muslim provinces in Pakistan will fail to appreciate that they were pioneers in the vanguard of our historic and heroic struggle for the achievement of Pakistan, which to-day is an accomplished fact". The Quaid-i-Azam did not consider the Muslim refugees from India to be an unwelcome burden on Pakistan; he regarded them as a valued element in the national life of Pakistan. This is what he said regarding the refugees, "Your immediate task is the rehabilitation of millions of our distressed and unfortunate brethren who are either already with us or who have still to join us in Pakistan, bereft of all they possessed or had in this world. The least we now can do for them is to receive them as our own brethren. No decent or sane person should consider that they are unwelcome burden thrust on us. Save all you can and give towards the relief of these victims of bestiality and vandalism who have suffered all this for the sole reason that they are Muslim".

The Quaid-i-Azam was a great champion of the cause of peace and international amity for he considered these the essential pre-requisite of all constructive endeavour and progress. But he had no illusions in this matter. He knew

that in this far from perfect world the first necessity for every independent country is to have strong defences. His advice on this question was as follows: "While giving the fullest support to the principles of the United Nations Charter we cannot afford to neglect our defences. However strong the United Nations Organization might be, the primary responsibility for the defence of our country will rest with us, and Pakistan must be preparted for all eventualities and dangers. The weak and the defenceless, in this imperfect world, invite aggression from others. The best way in which we can serve the cause of peace is by removing the temptation from the path of those who think that we are weak and therefore they can bully or attack us. That temptation can only be removed if we make ourselves so strong that nobody dare entertain any aggressive designs against us". (Address to the establish--ment of H.M.P.S. Dilawar, 23rd January, 1948).

With regard to the foreign policy the Quaid-i-Azam laid down certain laudable principles. In his broadcast talk to the people of United States of America in February 1948 he observed, "Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and good-will towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter".

We have already seen that the Quaid-i-Azam had deep and abiding faith in the efficacy of Islamic principles for the guidance and regulation of all affairs of life—individual and collective—in modern times. It was

his conviction that the Muslims had a complete and effective ideology of their own and could steer clear of the pitfalls of all extremist systems—capitalism on the one hand and communism on the other. He believed that if the Muslims of Pakistan correctly interpreted and exemplified, by deeds rather than words, the teachings of Islam they could show to the world the much-needed path to peace, justice and happiness. In fact, he considered this to be the main mission of Pakistan. In his speech at the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam emphasised that the Western economic theory and practice would not help in achieving their goal of creating a happy and contented people and they must work out their destiny in their own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice.

Just as he stressed even before the establishment of Pakistan and also in its early stages that its genesis had its origin in an essentially ethical and spiritual concept, even so he has left us, as a testament, the sacred task of evolving in Pakistan a polity and an economy which, besides bringing us peace and happiness, would serve as a model to the world. To the extent that we succeed in this experiment, to that extent we will be justifying the ideal for which Pakistan came into existence. We might close this appraisal of the Quaid-i-Azam's vision of Pakistan with a passage from his last Independence Day message to the Nation which has now become classic :

"Nature has given you everything; you have got unlimited resources. The foundations of your state have been laid, and it is now for you to build and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you God-speed".

HIS VIEW OF THE ECONOMIC PATTERN OF PAKISTAN

"The establisment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last ten years is by the grace of God an established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was means to an end and not an end in itself. The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play".

In this classic paragraph taken from his address to Pakistan Government Officers at Karachi on 11th October 1947 is summed up the Quaid-i-Azam's central idea of the basis and purpose of Pakistan as a free independent state. We need to remind ourselves again and again that the Quaid-i-Azam's conception of a State was that it is means to an end and not an end in itself. On another occasion he said, "the State exsits not for life but for good life". His emphasis throughout was on "social justice" based on Islamic principles. The main object, indeed the raison d'etre, of Pakistan to his mind was the urge to translate principles of Islamic social justice into conerete terms of social and economic reconstruction. There was no narrowness about his concept of "Islamic social justice". He delineated it as "Islamic" because it imparted to the concept a preciseness and a definiteness which it would otherwise have lacked. Another reason why he used this term was that he realised that in the ultimate analysis people's conduct is motivated and governed by moral consciousness and spiritual convictions and, unless

such a basis is provided for a people's effort to build up society and economy, life is reduced to "sound and fury, signifying nothing". Very appropriately, therefore, he spoke of "Islamic social justice" as the main objective of a State which a Muslim people had carved out in response to their urge for free existence.

What the Quaid-i-Azam meant by "social justice" in more precise terms is evident from many of his speeches. These provide the clue to his conception of the economic order which he visualised for Pakistan. He spoke his mind on the subject at some length during his tour of East Pakistan in March 1948. In the course of a speech at a public reception at Chittagong he expressed in magnificent style his view of the social and economic content of freedom in Pakistan. "You are oniy voicing my sentiment and the sentiments of millions of Mussalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of *social justice and Islamic socialism* which emphasise *equality and brotherhood of man.* Similarly you are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for *equal opportunities for all.* These targets of progress are not controversial in Pakistan, for we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and genius. *Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man*—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilisation. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in this sub-continent. We aspired for these great ideals because of centuries of dual domination by the foreign rulers and by a caste-ridden social system."

The Quaid-i-Azam with his breadth of vision saw farther than his fellow-men. He viewed the establishment of Pakistan as something more than the mere formation of a government. He wanted his people to broaden their vision

when he said in the same speech, "It is natural for some to think in terms of Government but the sooner we adjust ourselves to new forces, the sooner our mind's eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless, possibilities of our State and of our nation, the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realise the great ideals of human progress of *social justice.* of *equality* and of *fraternity* which, on the one hand, constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an *ideal social structure* in our State. I reiterate most emphatically that Pakistan was made possible because of the danger of complete annihilation of human soul in a society based on caste. Now that the soul is free to exist and to aspire it must assert itself galvanising not only the State but also the Nation."

In general terms, therefore, the social and economic order of Pakistan, according to the Quaid-i-Azam was to be based on social justice and Islamic socialism. Its marked features are brotherhood, equality of manhood and equality of opportunities for all. It was because these ideals and principles were in danger of being denied in the midst of a numerically larger society based on caste-system that the Muslim nation fought for carving out a separate state, and again it is these ideals which provide the incentive for evolving "an ideal social structure in our State". The stress laid by the Quaid-i-Azam on the difference between mere "Government" and possibilities of a free State shows that he wanted the people of the new country constantly to keep before their mind's eye a goal and an ideal which alone could evoke and stimulate their talents and energies to high and constructive endeavour. Without a worth-while and soul-satisfying goal to work for even political freedom can degenerate into putrefied existence, as has happened in the life of many a nation. The soul of the Muslim nation has to express

itself in purposeful activity directed towards evolution of "an ideal social structure". Government is a mere instrument; State is something larger, nobler, more comprehensive. Awareness of this profound truth creates a psychological attitude and approach which helps both the individual and the nation to transcend momentary difficulties and obstacles and move towards a higher destiny.

So much for the broad ideals and principles which, in Quaid-i-Azam's view, should inspire and inform the social and economic order of Pakistan. It is clear that he visualised a socialistic economy for Pakistan buttressed by the leaven of Islamic moral principles and spiritual values. He did not confine himself to an enunciation of general propositions but also stated his views as to the precise nature of Pakistan's economic structure even before Pakistan came into being. In an interview with a representative of Associated Press of America on 8th November 1945 the Quaid-i-Azam was emphatically of the view that economically Pakistan, divided into separate zones, is just as sound an undertaking as if it were a country with all of its states in one block; and that its natural resources and population would be sufficient to make it a great world power. He referred to the untouched deposits of iron, petroleum, sulphur, coal and other minerals and possibilities of generation of Hydro-electricity which would help rural electrification and industrial development. He definitely discounted the suggestion that "to draw masses of persons into industry would rob farms of needed labour and invite food shortage or famine". He laid down a golden rule for the future economic policies of Pakistan by remarking that "There would be ample revenues from *equitable taxation levied in a manner consistent with social justice to finance good government* and allow us to have a State as good as any in the world and better than many sovereign countrires on the map of the world today." Stating

his personal view as to the industrial policy of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam said, "Personally I believe that in these modern days *essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the State.* This applies also to certain public utilities. But what is a key industry and what is a utility service are matters for law-makers to say, not for me."

It is thus clear that the Quaid-i-Azam stood for two fundamental principles regarding the economic organization of the State—equitable taxation in conformity with principles of social justice and nationalization of key industries and public utility services. Thatthe rich should not be allowed to become richer and the poor to become poorer is an oft-repeated cliche, but it is a proposition which does not lose its force even by repetition. Obviously the Quaid-i-Azam's idea of taxation supports this proposition. He believed in the levelling down of the menacing economic disparities which account for widespread distress and misery and a more reasonable distribution of the economic burdens which have to be borne by all citizens for the common objective of maintenance of the State. This eminently sound principle together with the idea of nationalization of key industries and utility services would undoubtedly lead to the evolution of a socialistic economy which would ensure a balance between the individual's urge for enterprise and acquisition and the good of society as a whole. Such a consummation is perfectly in accord with the Islamic view of life. The Quaid-i-Azam believed in subordinating economic activity to moral ends, for therein lies the ultimate good of mankind and that is the quintessence of Islamic teachings.

The most crucial problem of economy to-day is the question of agricultural and industrial capitalism. It would be interesting to know what views the Quaid-i-Azam held and what guidance he had to offer in this behalf. In his presidential address at the session of the All-India

Muslim League at Delhi on 24th April 1943 the Quaid-i-Azam made no bones and expressed himself fully and forcefully on this subject. He said, "I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to to reason with them. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lessons of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate to the interests of others in order to fatten themselves. It is true we are not in power to-day. You go anywhere to the countryside. I have visited villages. There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilisation? Is this the aim of Pakistan? Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If that is the idea of Pakistan I would not have it. If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they don't, God help them; we shall not help them."

It would be difficult to find a more forthright and emphatic condemnation of the system of landlordism and capitalism which more than any other factor accounts for economic backwardness. The Quaid-i-Azam felt so deeply for the masses of people groaning under the deadweight of landlordism and capitalism that he was prepared to go without Pakistan if it meant exploitation and starvation of millions. He wanted the landlords and capitalists to read the signs of the time. It is, therefore, evident that the Quaid-i-Azam desired a radical change in the agrarian system and capitalistic economy, a change which would prevent the exploitation and emasculation of millions of tillers of the soil and labourers and enable them to lead a life of security and prosperity.

While he was severely critical of the system which gave a long rope to landlords and the business and industrial magnates to exploit the masses of the people, the Quaid-i-Azam never-the-less was keen on industrial development. He saw no point in the contention of certain critics that diversion of some people to industries would deprive agriculture of the labour it needs and diminish food production. Such an argument could only come from those who in their heart of hearts did not desire Pakistan to progress in the industrial field. On the contrary the Quaid-i-Azam stressed the obvious importance of industrialization to a new State like Pakistan. Speaking at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of a textile mill at Karachi on 26th September 1947 he said, "If Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it, it must *develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture* and give its economy *an industrial bias*. By industrialising our State we shall decrease our dependence on the outside world for necessities of life, give more employment to our people and also increase the resources of the State. Nature has blessed us with a good many raw materials of industry and it is upto us to utilise them to the best advantage of the State and its people. I hope this venture of yours will prove the precursor of many such enterprises and bring *prosperity to all concerned*." To those who always put forward the excuse of lack of funds for the pursuit of a programme of development the Quaid-i-Azam's answer was, "Funds are no doubt necessary for development but at the same time national growth and regeneration do not depend on funds alone. It is human toil that makes for the prosperity of a people and I have no doubt that we have in Pakistan a nation of industrious and determined people whose past traditions have already distinguished them in the field of human achievement."

The maturest conception of the purpose, ideal and mission which the Quaid-i-Azam wanted Pakistan to fulfil

is to be found in his last major pronouncement at the inauguration of the State Bank of Pakistan on 1st July 1948. This speech may be said to constitute his last testament to his people and it should serve as a constant source of light and inspiration. Stressing the need of developing a new economic system he said, "The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from the disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary it was largely responsible for the two world wars in the last half century. The Western World, inspite of its advantages of mechanization and industrial efficiency, is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work out our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will, thereby, be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind."

This speech shows that the Quaid-i-Azam had reached the definite conclusion that the Western economic theory and practice had failed to do justice between man and man and to eliminate friction from the international field and was the cause of two world wars in half a century. He had deep and abiding faith in the efficacy of Islamic principles for the regulation of all affairs of life—individual and collective—in modern times. He desired his people to evolve an economic system based on the twin concepts of *equality of manhood and social justice*, because he was convinced that the Muslims had a complete and effective ideology of their own and could steer clear of the pitfalls of all extremist

systems—capitalism on the one hand and communism on the other. Will the Muslims of Pakistan seriously take up the challenge? Upon an answer to this question depends their future destiny.

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